

THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

EDITED BY ALBERT SHAW

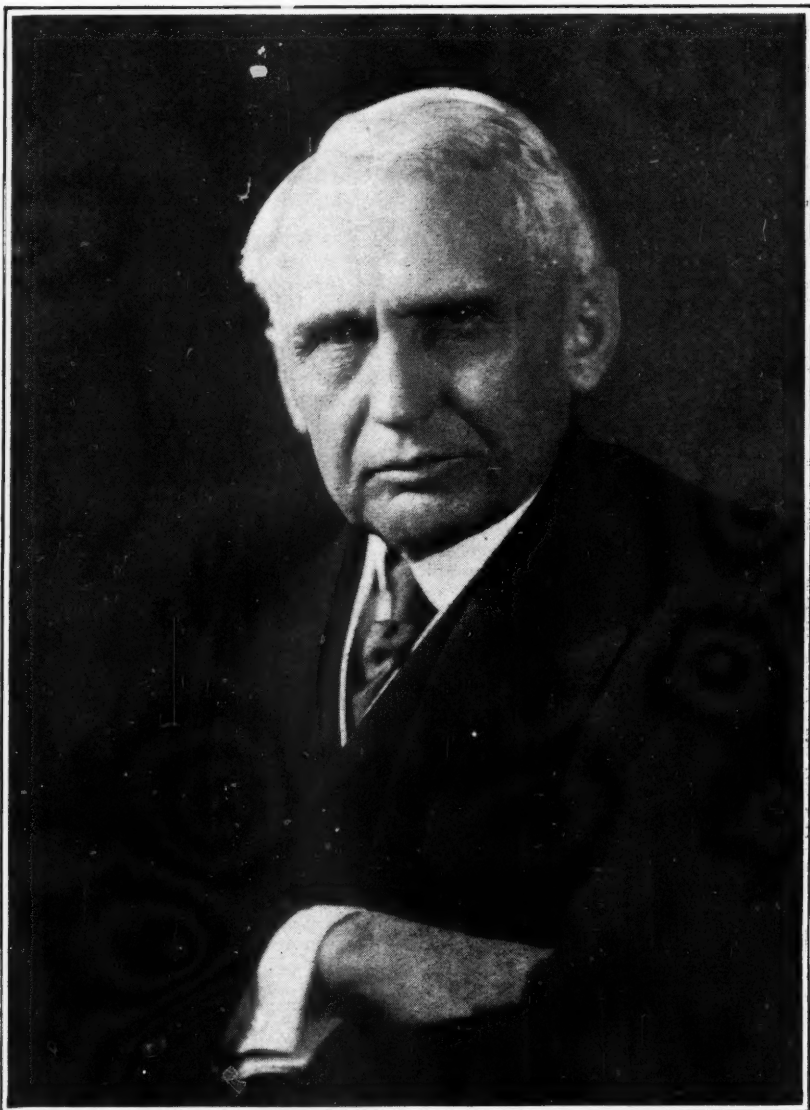
CONTENTS FOR FEBRUARY, 1925

| | | | |
|-----------------------------------------------|-----------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| Frank B. Kellogg..... | Frontispiece | Borah the Individual..... | 149 |
| | | BY WILLIAM HARD | |
| | | <i>With portrait</i> | |
| The Progress of the World— | | Debts and Evacuation..... | 154 |
| The World Now Watches America..... | 115 | BY FRANK H. SIMONDS | |
| Times Have Changed for Uncle Sam..... | 115 | Methods of Land Registration..... | 164 |
| Leadership Recognized..... | 116 | BY ANNIE MATHEWS | |
| Mr. Hughes and His Achievements..... | 116 | Radio—A New Industrial Giant..... | 167 |
| Diplomatic Adjustments..... | 116 | BY J. GEORGE FREDERICK | |
| What They Know Elsewhere..... | 116 | Gandhi, the Great Man of India..... | 171 |
| Our State Department Reorganized..... | 116 | BY GRACE THOMPSON SETON | |
| Mr. Kellogg's Training for Office..... | 117 | <i>With portraits</i> | |
| In European Conferences..... | 118 | Build the Cathedral!..... | 177 |
| Mr. Houghton for London..... | 118 | BY S. PARKES CADMAN, D.D. | |
| The Flurry About Europe's Debts..... | 119 | <i>With illustrations</i> | |
| Distinctions Not to Be Ignored..... | 119 | Development of St. John's Cathedral..... | 184 |
| Efforts and Expenditures..... | 119 | <i>With illustrations</i> | |
| Some Things to Remember..... | 120 | Teaching Prosperity..... | 186 |
| Relative Wealth..... | 120 | BY ALVAN T. SIMONDS | |
| Loans That Disguise Facts..... | 121 | Putting Idle Forest Acres to Work..... | 189 |
| Final Adjustment Yet to Come..... | 121 | BY W. B. GREELEY | |
| Mystery and Gossip at Washington..... | 122 | <i>With illustrations</i> | |
| Great Work, Small Pay..... | 122 | Our Recent Forest Fires..... | 193 |
| Diplomatists Cannot Live Cheaply..... | 122 | <i>With illustrations</i> | |
| Justice McKenna Leaves the Bench..... | 122 | Rome and the Holy Year..... | 197 |
| Harlan Stone Succeeds McKenna..... | 123 | BY JOHN GLEASON O'BRIEN | |
| Warren for the Department of Justice..... | 123 | <i>With illustrations</i> | |
| Cabinet Shifts from East to West..... | 124 | Leading Articles of the Month— | |
| Spheres of Public Interest..... | 124 | Senator Borah's Program..... | 202 |
| Fresh Life in the Religious World..... | 125 | Radio and the Pulpit..... | 203 |
| The New York Cathedral Campaign..... | 125 | A New Form of Religious Revival..... | 204 |
| Also, the Washington Cathedral..... | 125 | The League Criticized..... | 205 |
| The Churches Grow More Democratic..... | 126 | The English Air Fleet and French Security..... | 207 |
| Radio as Aid to Church and School..... | 126 | Italy's Position on the Armament Question..... | 208 |
| A Catholic Year of Pilgrimages..... | 127 | The League of Nations and Saar Schools..... | 209 |
| Religious Instruction in Schools..... | 127 | Latin in American Schools..... | 210 |
| The New Head of Organized Labor..... | 128 | Norway's Flag Upon the Seas..... | 211 |
| Mr. Green's Positions..... | 128 | Roget's Other Title to Fame..... | 212 |
| What Gompers Lived to Witness..... | 128 | Coöperative Housing..... | 213 |
| Facilities for Popular Culture..... | 129 | French Laborers Earn Their Own Homes..... | 214 |
| Improving the Nation's Capital..... | 129 | Egyptian Influence on the Book of Proverbs..... | 215 |
| The Navy Discussion Ended..... | 130 | Art of Deciphering Scorched Documents..... | 217 |
| Postal Questions..... | 130 | South Africa's Problems..... | 218 |
| Rural Delivery..... | 131 | <i>With portraits, cartoons, and other illustrations</i> | |
| Postal Profits and Losses..... | 131 | The New Books..... | 220 |
| Senator Borah in Prominence..... | 132 | | |
| Motor Trucks Versus Railways..... | 132 | | |
| How About the Oil Supply?..... | 133 | | |
| The Conservation Commission..... | 133 | | |
| Gold Turning the Other Way..... | 133 | | |
| Law Enforcement..... | 134 | | |
| <i>With portraits and other illustrations</i> | | | |
| Record of Current Events..... | 135 | | |
| Cartoons of the Month..... | 141 | | |
| Investment Questions and Answers..... | Page 4, advertising section | | |

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**HON. FRANK B. KELLOGG, UNITED STATES AMBASSADOR AT THE
COURT OF ST. JAMES'S**

(Who will enter upon his duties as Secretary of State at Washington as the successor of
Hon. Charles Evans Hughes on March 4, at the beginning of the new presidential term)

THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

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No. 2

THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD

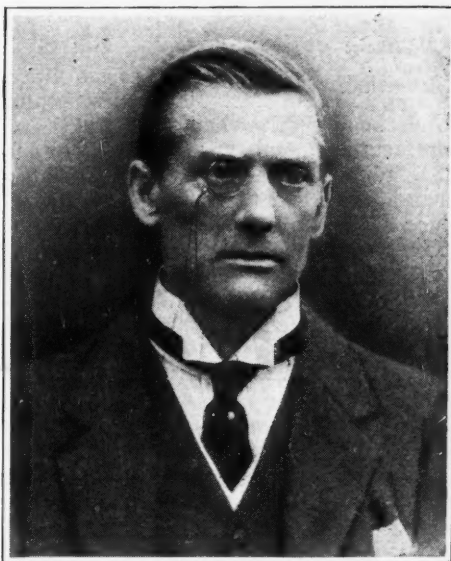
*The World
Now Watches
America*

Within forty-eight hours after the announcement was made that Secretary Hughes would retire from President Coolidge's Cabinet on March 4, this matter was made the subject of keen and earnest discussion everywhere from Lapland to Tasmania. As for the important capitals of the world, they were all of them treating it as an affair that came directly home to themselves. However consistently our government at Washington might have been trying to mind its own business, the rest of the world refuses to ignore us. An American Cabinet shift which involved no change of parties or policies, and which had nothing sensational about it to stimulate the head-line writers, was regarded everywhere as having its serious bearing upon the destinies of mankind. Its takes an incident like this to help us understand how different, after all, is the post-war world from that of a dozen years ago, and how sensitive all nations and peoples have become to the influence and position of the United States.

*Times Have
Changed for
Uncle Sam*

On March 4, 1913, just a dozen years ago, Philander C. Knox, as Secretary of State, was succeeded by William J. Bryan, Woodrow Wilson at that time taking Mr. Taft's place in the White House. This was indeed an abrupt change, and for us a sensational one; but even in the chief capitals of Europe it aroused little comment and was of casual interest to the press and to Foreign Offices only as it might bring changes in the personnel of our diplomatic and consular services. Early in 1909, Mr. Root had retired from the State department after a record of the most distinguished character in Mr. Roosevelt's administration. This resump-

tion of private life at that time was by no means treated as a world event of thrilling significance. We are living in a changed era; and, whether we realize it or not, the rest of the world is studying our politics and our statesmanship as too important to themselves to be neglected. Even the English elections, followed by the retirement of Ramsay MacDonald and the Labor ministry, and the accession of Baldwin, Churchill and Austen Chamberlain several weeks ago, were not more absorbing topics in the European press. The British people demanded and secured a radical change in parties, this involving serious aspects of foreign policy, and this was, indeed, discussed everywhere.



HON. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN

(Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in Great Britain)

But the mere announcement that one official of the Coolidge administration would retire, with no changes of policy contemplated, has had as much public notice as the British swing from Labor to Tory.

**Leadership
Recognized** There are those in America who lament the fact that we have not been doing our duty in respect to foreign parts. It is declared that we have neglected opportunities to aid in the readjustment of Europe. About these things Americans are inclined to be idealistic and theoretical. In Europe, on the other hand, they are eminently practical. They are fully aware that we have been playing an extraordinarily active and significant part in the affairs of the world—especially in those of Europe—during the past four years. In this period Secretary Hughes has been by far the most influential foreign minister of any country. And this happens to be better known abroad than here at home. That this has been due to the changed position of the United States as a result of America's stupendous demonstration of power in the war, does not lessen the credit that is due to Secretary Hughes himself. He brought to his present post great personal prestige, unflagging energy, and a temperament that suited the office. The two outstanding achievements of his term have been the Washington disarmament conference and the Dawes reparations plan.

**Mr. Hughes
and His
Achievements** President Harding and Senator Lodge have passed away, but Mr. Root and Senator Underwood survive; and they, who know the facts best, would be foremost in praising Mr. Hughes for his initiative and his statesmanship as regards the Washington conference. Not one more only, but several future conferences doubtless must be held, to extend and complete the work of that great gathering. But the Washington conference will stand as one of the principal milestones on the road toward world peace and order. The diplomatic preliminaries that led to the appointment of the Dawes committee of experts were conducted with patience and skill by Secretary Hughes himself; and he had much to do with the subsequent acceptance of the plan by the allies, and especially by Germany. His position in favoring the World Court has had the full support of Presidents Harding and Coolidge. It was made a plank in the

last Republican national platform. It has the general endorsement of the best public opinion of the country.

**Diplomatic
Adjustments** The Far Eastern policies of Mr. Hughes have been of the most conciliatory kind, and it was through no fault of his that Japanese sensitiveness was touched so deeply by the exclusion clause in our recent Immigration Act. Good relations with Mexico have been restored under the firm but friendly diplomacy directed by Mr. Hughes, and understandings throughout the entire Western Hemisphere have never been more satisfactory than at the present time. Our official relations in this period have been of the most cordial nature with successive British ministries, the Secretary of State having had the advantage of direct personal association with Balfour (during the Washington conference), with MacDonald (in the difficult Dawes plan negotiations in London last summer), and with Baldwin (during the negotiations here that led to the funding of the British Government loan). Similarly, Mr. Hughes has had personal relations with representative French statesmen.

**What They
Know
Elsewhere** If anybody should ask why they now care in England who is directing American foreign policy, there is no British newspaper writer who could not give at least twenty excellent reasons. Certainly there is no editor or statesman in Japan who could not give a list of reasons regarded as of prime importance why the Japanese are concerned about the Washington attitude towards many problems. Moscow, Paris, Berlin, Rome, Brussels, Vienna, Budapest, Angora—all these capitals, not to exclude twenty others, have particular reasons of their own for looking upon American policy affecting one question or another as a matter of critical consequence to themselves.

**Our State
Department
Reorganized** Not only has Mr. Hughes achieved results through his own individual prestige and capacity, but he has also been a good organizer, and he will leave the work of the State Department better systematized and more fully manned to the last detail than ever before in its history. His term also will be notable for the fact that it has put into effect the long-desired amalgamation

of our diplomatic and consular services. Our representatives abroad have never before been as well trained and efficient as they are now. Appointments to foreign posts are no longer bestowed upon ill-trained and unworthy persons as private and political favors. In giving effect to the new law, there was undoubtedly a sincere purpose to treat the service itself with respect, and to make shifts and promotions for reasons that in each case would deserve to be commended rather than criticized.

Mr. Kellogg's Training for Office Appointments to the higher diplomatic posts are made by the President, but always presumably after due consultation with the Secretary of State. Thus the selection of Mr. Frank B. Kellogg to be Ambassador at the Court of St. James' was doubtless as satisfactory to Mr. Hughes as it was to Mr. Coolidge. Mr. Kellogg went to his London post in the month of December, 1923. His term in the Senate had ended earlier in that year. He had been an influential member of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations. He had served in the Senate throughout our participation in the war, and was there during the protracted Senate debates on the ratification of the Versailles Treaty. Before going to the Senate, he had practiced law at St. Paul, Minn., for more than twenty-five years. The head of his law firm was the late Cushman K. Davis, who served a long time in the United States Senate and was himself chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee. Senator Davis was a brilliant orator, a man of literary tastes and accomplishments, and one of the older men who was a warm friend of the young Theodore Roosevelt in the period when "T. R." was a Civil Service Commissioner under Presidents Harrison and Cleveland.

His Legal Career Mr. Kellogg—who, with his partner Mr. C. A. Severance, was carrying on the ever-enlarging business of the St. Paul law firm while the senior partner, Mr. Davis, was at Washington—was in a position to know much of domestic politics and also of Ameri-



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THE SECRETARY OF STATE AND MRS. HUGHES

(A recent snapshot)

can foreign policy. He was entrusted with legal affairs of exceptional importance, now for railroad and industrial corporations and now for the Government itself. He became especially conversant with the legal applications of the Sherman Anti-Trust law, and the interstate commerce laws, and with State legislation relating to corporations and railroads. Following in the footsteps of Senator Davis, Mr. Kellogg in due time became one of President Roosevelt's most trusted advisers, and served for many years as a member of the Republican National Committee.

Recent Experiences

Mr. Kellogg has been in London long enough to have gained a valuable insight into European affairs by reason of close contacts, without having been abroad long enough to have lost familiarity with men and measures at Washington. Thus the Foreign Relations Committee has not covered very much new ground, nor has it changed much in personnel, since Mr. Kellogg was one of its members. During all the time that Mr. Coolidge as Vice-



HON. FRANK B. KELLOGG

(Who will succeed Mr. Hughes as Secretary of State on March 4)

President sat in the Senate chamber as presiding officer, Mr. Kellogg was a member of that body; and the two men were intimate friends. While Mr. Hughes was on the Supreme bench, Mr. Kellogg was one of the best known of the lawyers who appeared from time to time before that august tribunal. Mr. Kellogg, also, had been a personal and political friend of Senator Borah long before he went to the Senate, and he was intimately associated with the present chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee when they were both serving as members under the chairmanship of the late Senator Lodge. Our regular readers may remember that in our October

number the editor, who was then abroad, commented at some length upon the remarkable value of the services Mr. Kellogg had been rendering, quietly and behind the scenes, as a member of the protracted conferences at London that resulted in the acceptance of the Dawes plan, first by the Premiers of the Allied countries, and afterwards by the delegates of Germany, who came to London for that purpose.

*In
European
Conferences*

His disinterestedness and goodwill, taken together with a legal experience superior to that of any of the European statesmen who were in these London conferences, made it possible at many critical points for Mr. Kellogg to express the view that brought agreement. Looking to the future, his suggestions provided means for the arbitration of differences that might arise in the administration of the reparations scheme. The announcement that he had been chosen by President Coolidge to succeed Secretary Hughes after March 4 was made at a moment when Mr. Kellogg was in Paris, where he and Ambassador Herrick, together with Col. James A. Logan, were representing the United States in a conference that had been called to adjust certain financial questions that had arisen in connection with the apportionment of reparation payments. Mr. Logan was taking the more active part at Paris, especially in negotiations with the British Chancellor of the Exchequer, Winston Churchill. But Ambassador Kellogg's experience and sound judgment were lending quiet support in the background.

*Mr. Houghton
for
London*

The selection of our Ambassador at Berlin to succeed Mr. Kellogg at London was greatly praised on both sides of the Atlantic. Alanson B. Houghton was sent to Berlin by President Harding at a time when it was desirable to find an American for that position whose judgment, experience, and ability would command immediate recognition. Mr. Houghton had enjoyed unusual educational advantages in youth; had built up a great manufacturing business with headquarters at Corning, N. Y.; and had served in Congress. He is now thoroughly familiar with the current problems of European readjustment and with diplomatic usages. He was in London for a time last summer during the Conference, and is

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acceptable to British statesmen as well as to our own authorities at Washington. It is understood that Mr. Herrick is to remain at Paris for the present; and an announcement was soon to be made regarding the successor of Mr. Houghton at Berlin.

*The Flurry
About Europe's
Debts*

Mr. Simonds, in his contribution to our present number, takes up again the subject of the inter-allied debts, and especially the recent discussions of the funding of the debt of France to the United States. It has been the prevailing American opinion that the European Allies, who had been fighting a common war for their own reasons for almost three years before we—for reasons of our own—declared that Germany's conduct had obliged us to assume the status of belligerency, ought quite promptly to have adjusted their book-keeping claims as against one another. The French view was that England was being protected against invasion by the heroism of the French armies, and that financial resources advanced by the British Government to France were merely one phase of the associated war effort. Necessarily, accounts were kept at the time; but it is the French feeling that the British owe more to them than they owe to the British. The services of each country were indispensable to the other; and if, in the sequel, there is any money to pass from one to the other, that must be their own affair. These two countries had entered into an alliance a number of years before the war, and their relationships throughout the world have been, and still are, intricate.

*Distinctions
Not to Be
Ignored*

It is the ordinary American opinion, on the other hand, that the loans of the United States to major European powers were made on a different basis, and that respect ought now to be shown to the assurances then given that these loans would be promptly funded and fully repaid. Nothing resembling the American participation in the European conflict had ever happened in the history of the world. Our Government had declared itself strictly neutral in 1914, and President Wilson had been reelected in 1916 on the slogan, "He kept us out of war," and on the party promises made to the people during the campaign that he would continue to keep us out. When circumstances led President Wilson to feel that we could no



© Harris & Ewing

HON. ALANSON B. HOUGHTON

(Who becomes our Ambassador at London)

longer maintain neutrality, it was distinctly declared that we were making war upon Germany for our own reasons, and not as a partner in the alliance. We had grievances against Germany, but they were not different from the grievances of Spain, Sweden, Argentina, or any other neutral nation whose maritime rights had been violated by Germany's resumption of unrestricted submarine warfare. When, with the breakdown of Russia, however, the land war seemed to be turning against the allies on the western front, we responded to their appeals. We spent unlimited sums of money on our own account in creating armies, building ships, and going to Europe's relief. Germany could never have invaded the United States; and we, in turn, could never alone have invaded Germany. Our grievances were maritime, and would have led us to naval and aviation development on a great scale.

*Efforts
and
Expenditures*

When, however, the Allies needed strengthening, we sent our young men without grudge, and at the end of the war had the largest army that was actually fighting in the allied cause. We paid high prices to the

British for lending us ships with which to carry our men across the ocean. We paid in France for every acre of ground and every building that our troops occupied, as we rallied to the assistance of our ancient and gallant friends. The Europeans have had such a hard time themselves that it has never quite occurred to them to find out what sacrifices the people of the United States incurred, in a spirit of generosity never known before, as they undertook to help Europe settle things once for all and smooth the way to permanent peace. The United States has never asked for any recompense for the thirty billion dollars of its own war expenditure, which resulted in turning the scale and ending the conflict. The additional billions, turned over to Europe as straight loans, are regarded as on a different footing.

*Some Things
to
Remember*

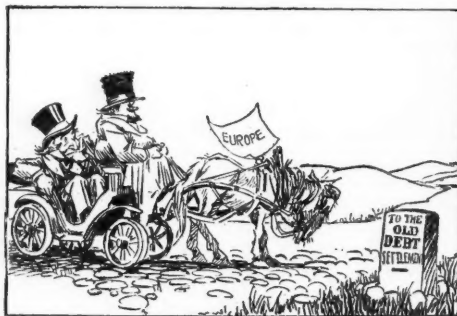
It is true that a great part of this money was expended by the European governments in the United States. But it seems to have been generally forgotten in Europe that this was because Uncle Sam had fixed low prices for his own purchases of wheat, copper, steel, lumber, and other commodities, and had then insisted that American producers should give European governments the benefit of these fixed prices, as they spent here the money that our Treasury advanced at the expense of our taxpayers. The American farmer was compelled to sell his wheat to these European governments at prices lower than they would have paid in Argentina, Spain, or anywhere else. The same thing, of course, was true of the copper and other materials purchased in the United States. In large part, these loans to the European govern-

ments were made after the war had ended. There has been nothing but patience on the part of our Government and of the American public regarding these debts, until the present season. But, during past weeks, American public opinion has been deeply aroused. This has not been due to the desire for repayment of money that can not now be paid, but because of the exhibition on the part of many European newspapers—and some responsible European statesmen—of a calloused disregard of the plain facts of recent history and of the ethical bearings of those facts.

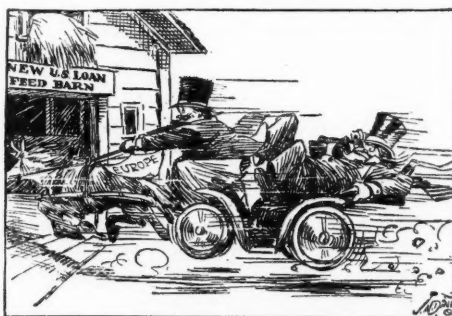
*Relative
Wealth*

The economic activities of a toiling continent center in a metropolis like New York.

Wealth flows, nowadays, to the great cities; and Europe, seeing Wall Street on the rampage, and finding enormous sums of money still available for borrowers, can think of no convincing reason why Uncle Sam should wish to be paid back when he makes loans. The fact that loanable funds accumulate at New York, and that they are still available for foreign borrowers, is no conclusive proof of an all-pervasive American prosperity. India sends great quantities of wheat to Europe, not because India is prosperous but because her people are too poor to eat the wheat and are obliged to sell it. In like manner, America's vast commercial and banking transactions do not always mean that the people are universally flourishing. The farmers of France have been so much more prosperous since the war than the farmers of our American South and West, that they can hardly conceive of the distress that millions of Americans have endured almost without complaint. Even the South and the West, whatever they may have suffered,



You might not think so when she is going to town



But just turn her head toward the old feed bin!

THERE'S LIFE IN THE OLD MARE YET

From the *Herald Tribune* © (New York City)

do not clamor for the repayment of money loaned to France. They know that France has been spending great sums in the devastated areas. All that they ask is evidence on the part of the French press and of French statesmen that facts which everybody recognized in 1918 are not forgotten in 1925. Meanwhile, we may be sure that a better understanding will prevail in the near future.

*Loans that
Disguise
Facts*

Governments have no money; and they ought not to make loans to other governments which disguise the fact that lending is the function of private investors. Money that our government lent to other governments before the armistice was in the exercise of war powers. A settlement ought to be devised that would relieve the United States government of its invidious position as a creditor. An agreement should be made in due time with the French government, and then bonds should be sold to investors, anywhere and everywhere, for what they will bring. Let us suppose that the taxpayers of the United States, besides bearing all their own war burden, should agree to assume two-thirds of the debt that France owes the United States. The French taxpayers could easily support the remaining third. This uncanceled third might then be issued in the form of French bonds to be sold through bankers to the investing public, with a statement on the part of the government at Washington that the investors would be protected against default of interest or principal. The United States has thus protected Cuban bonds, and also bonds of the Republic of Santo Domingo.

*Final
Adjustment
Yet to Come*

As for the debt that the British government has arranged to meet, it also at some future time should be put in such a form that it could be absorbed by the investing public. This British obligation could properly enough be issued with the guaranty of the United States government. It is undesirable that the United States Treasury, over a long period of years to come, should be collecting war debts from other countries. These loans should, in the not too distant future, either be cancelled in whole or in part, or else paid off by the simple method of substituting foreign bonds for Liberty bonds, and selling them to investors with the guaranty of the United States government. There is, indeed, no reason for haste about



ETIENNE CLEMENTEL, FRENCH FINANCE MINISTER

(Who last month precipitated a discussion of France's financial obligations to Great Britain and the United States. He not only dwelt upon French inability to begin repayment, but advanced the proposal that France should receive compensation for the use of her soil in the common defense)

such an arrangement, as regards the British debt; but it ought to be treated in some such fashion within the next ten or fifteen years. If this were done, the United States could well afford to reduce quite substantially the amount of the British indebtedness as it now stands under the accepted Baldwin plan. England has never before owed money to governments. She has dealt with investors, and has always met her obligations.

*Favorable
Outlook*

In recent weeks, exchanges have become so favorable for the pound sterling that within the near future—probably within the present year 1925—England will be able to resume the gold standard. It should be constantly explained to the European press and to European statesmen that the United States desires above all things to see peace and prosperity in Europe, followed by disarmament, with mutual guaranties for peace, and with steady development of such agencies as the League of Nations and the World Court. When Europe has become thus reestablished, relatively disarmed and secure, there will arrive a time for the rearrangement of

debts; and then the people of the United States will not be lacking in generosity. There are no European peoples toward whom American sentiment is not sympathetic. That there is steady movement toward improved relations everywhere, is our confident belief. And, of course, America should not shirk any responsibility that attaches itself to inherent power and to certain historical and geographical advantages.

*Mystery
and Gossip at
Washington*

The foreign discussion of American Cabinet changes was more significant, even if not better informed, than much of the comment nearer home. Some of our own newspapers, misled by Washington reports, persisted for days in talking about the profound mystery of the retirement of Mr. Hughes, and about the amazement with which Washington politicians had been stricken almost blind and dumb by the choice of Mr. Kellogg. But all this was the merest froth. Washington lives on political gossip, and often excites itself unduly. For personal reasons, Mr. Hughes had long planned to retire from office as soon as the exigencies of public business could make it fitting that he should leave the Cabinet. This had been well understood by President Coolidge; but for many reasons it was desirable not to make formal announcements prematurely.

*Great Work,
Small Pay*

The question of compensation for men in high public position is fraught with difficulties. We have met that issue in the case of the President; but not in that of any other of our important federal officials. Our Chief Justice receives only \$15,000 a year, and the Associate Justices each \$14,500. Members of the Cabinet are paid \$12,000 each, and the Vice-President has the same salary as a Cabinet member. We have many bureau heads, assistant secretaries, and other officials carrying immense responsibilities, whose salaries run from \$6,000 to \$8,000 a year. Even the Solicitor General of the United States receives only \$10,000, while the Assistant Attorneys-General have each \$7,500. Diplomatic activities in Washington have expanded greatly during the past ten years, and it is not feasible for our Secretary of State, who is the most influential diplomatist in the world, to live on a salary that would not pay the Washington expenses of a minister accredited from one of the smallest foreign countries.

*Diplomatists
Cannot Live
Cheaply*

The public services of a man like Secretary Hughes cannot be measured in terms of money. Certainly, however, the office itself should be adequately supported. In England, Cabinet members are paid much larger salaries than in the United States, while lawyers and business men who are serving in Parliament are usually able to carry on their professional work or business enterprises even while holding public place. The British Foreign Minister, Austen Chamberlain, has a salary of about \$25,000, and various expense allowances besides. In contrast with Secretary Hughes, Mr. Kellogg had carried on a lucrative law practice for a long time before entering public life. Every one of our recent Ambassadors at London has probably spent each year several times the amount of his salary. Mr. Kellogg, during 1924, very possibly expended four or five times as much as he drew from the United States Treasury—not in ostentation, but in upholding America's position, and serving American interests. Mr. Mark Sullivan states in the *Herald Tribune* (New York) that it has probably cost Mr. Hughes several times the amount of his salary to live in Washington in such a way as to meet the demands made upon him in an office that is international in its character.

*Justice Mc-
Kenna Leaves
the Bench*

On January 5, a few days before the report that Mr. Hughes would retire on March 4, at the end of his four-year term, there came the announcement that Justice McKenna had resigned from the Supreme Bench, and that Mr. Coolidge had selected Attorney-General Stone as his successor. Joseph McKenna was born in 1843, and has been a member of the Supreme Bench for twenty-seven years. He had served in Congress for several terms from a California district, where he was a colleague and friend of Mr. McKinley of Ohio. In 1892, President Harrison made him a United States Circuit Judge, and when McKinley became President in 1897 this California jurist was chosen as Attorney-General. But within less than a year, on the retirement of Justice Stephen J. Field from the Supreme Court, President McKinley nominated McKenna for the vacant place. The ceremony attending Justice McKenna's retirement was simple but deeply impressive. Chief Justice Taft read

a letter signed by the entire Bench, and Justice McKenna read his response. Both statements reflected the high spirit and quality of a tribunal that is fully entitled to the confidence and support of the American people by reason of its learning, industry, integrity and intelligent devotion to duty. Justice McKenna had delivered the court's opinions in 633 cases, found in ninety-six volumes of the Court reports.

*Harlan Stone
Succeeds
McKenna*

Harlan Fiske Stone, named by President Coolidge to succeed Justice McKenna, was dean of the Columbia Law School at New York and also a member of a prominent law firm when he was chosen by the President early last April to succeed Mr. Daugherty as Attorney-General. Mr. Stone and Mr. Coolidge were Amherst College students at the same time, and both were sons of northern New England. Mr. Stone was born in 1872, and now, in his fifty-third year, is a man of remarkable vigor and capacity for work. The country is to be congratulated upon so excellent a choice for our highest bench. Mr. Stone's efforts as head of the Department of Justice have secured general confidence, and there is much regret at his retirement from a place that has grown in importance because of the rapid expansion of the business that comes under the supervision of the Attorney-General. In making appointments, Mr. Coolidge shows commendable promptness as well as a fine discrimination.

*Warren for the
Department
of Justice*

It is the business of the Senate to inquire into a given appointment when it is sent from the White House for ratification; but it is no part of the duty of Senators to instruct the President in advance as to whom they might prefer to have him select. Mr. Coolidge was prepared to announce at once that his choice for Attorney-General was Charles Beecher Warren of Michigan. The Michigan delegation in Congress considered that their approval ought first to have been gained. But this is not the sound view. The State of Michigan is no more concerned with the Department of Justice than is any other State. The President alone is responsible for the executive work of the Government, and should not be hampered in the choice of department heads. Questions of local politics should be disregarded when the Senate is acting upon a Cabinet

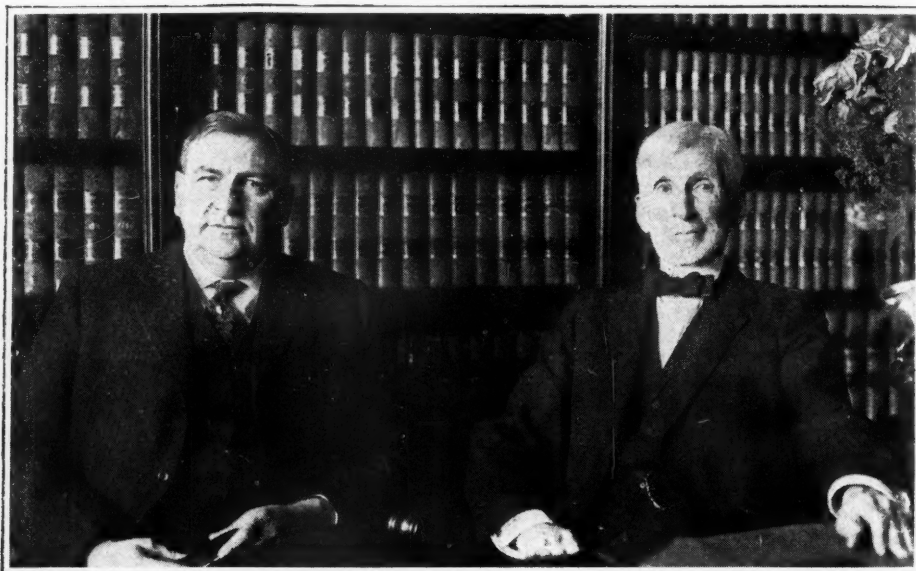


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HON. CHARLES BEECHER WARREN

(Who has been chosen to succeed Mr. Stone as Attorney-General of the United States)

appointment. Mr. Warren is an eminent lawyer, and has shown unusual ability in more than one public service. He was born and educated in Michigan, and has long practised law in Detroit. He was one of the lawyers for the United States Government in the Bering Sea controversy many years ago, and more recently he had represented us at The Hague in the adjudication of claims in dispute between the United States and Great Britain regarding certain fishery rights in the North Atlantic. He was associated with General Crowder in the application of the Draft Law, and during the first half of the Harding Administration he was our Ambassador to Japan. Returning, in 1923, he was sent to Mexico as a Commissioner to adjust long-standing difficulties, and later was appointed Ambassador to Mexico. Returning from that country, he served as chairman of the Committee on Resolutions last summer in the Republican National Convention. From every standpoint, Mr. Warren is exceptionally qualified to fill the office of Attorney-General and to serve as one of the President's group of official advisers.



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THE NEW ASSOCIATE JUSTICE OF THE UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT, HARLAN F. STONE, AND THE RETIRING JUSTICE, JOSEPH MCKENNA

*Cabinet
Shifts from
East to West*

The geographical distribution of Cabinet members is not ordinarily a matter of practical importance, though it has a certain significance. President Wilson went South and West for most of his official family. Thus Secretaries Daniels, McReynolds, McAdoo, Houston, Glass, Postmaster-General Burleson, and Attorney-General Gregory were from the South, while Mr. Bryan and Mr. Lane were from the West. Mr. Harding chose Secretaries Hughes, Mellon, Weeks and Davis from the East, with Daugherty, Will Hays, Harry New and Henry Wallace from the Middle West, and Hubert Work, Herbert Hoover, and Albert Fall accredited to the farther West. Mr. Coolidge will select a new Secretary of Agriculture when Howard Gore, a few weeks hence, takes up his duties as Governor of West Virginia. If no other changes are made, Mr. Coolidge will have in his Cabinet Herbert Hoover and Curtis Wilbur, both of California; Hubert Work of Colorado; Frank Kellogg of Minnesota; Charles B. Warren of Michigan; Harry New of Indiana; Andrew Mellon and James J. Davis, both of Pennsylvania, and John W. Weeks of Massachusetts. It has been much rumored that ex-Governor Carey of Wyoming, who is now serving as head of Mr. Coolidge's commission of inquiry on farming conditions, may become

Secretary of Agriculture. Thus predominance in the Cabinet will have swung rapidly from the East to the West. All this, however, is more nominal than actual. Mr. Hoover, for instance, is an international rather than a local character; and Messrs. Kellogg and Warren, though Northwestern men, are not local or provincial in their experiences. When Associate Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes retires in the near future, it is likely enough that a western jurist may be named to take his place, although it matters much more who the man is than where he was born or in what State he is now domiciled.

*Spheres
of Public
Interest*

The people of the United States are very properly concerned with the problems of governmental and economic life. The national income must be earned by general and united effort, and must be distributed to individuals and families as equitably as possible. Good government is a thing that affects everybody, and democratic institutions cannot safely be left to small groups of professional politicians. But there are other great domains of human interest and social concern that are somewhat apart from business and politics, though all phases of civilized existence touch one another at many points. Education is one of these

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great spheres of interest, and religion is another; and art—in a large sense of the word, that includes literature, architecture, music, the stage, the refinements of home-making and gardening, and many other modes of æsthetic expression—constitutes another domain. From the standpoint of human welfare, our industrial system shows progress in many respects. The same thing may fairly be said of the workings of our institutions of government. As regards education, we are spending ever-increasing sums of money in the provision of schools and facilities, but our educational methods do not produce satisfactory results; and in this sphere of activity there is far greater need of reform than in our mechanisms of politics and of business.

*Fresh Life in
the Religious
World*

It has also seemed to many observers that the religious life of America, in so far as it was influenced and directed by the churches, was not holding its relative place in the nation's advancement. There had been too much futile rivalry among denominations, too much timid deference to tradition, and too little confidence and enthusiasm in dealing with things as they are. It seems to be dawning very rapidly upon the leaders of religious opinion in America that they have quite as much right to think for themselves as religious leaders ever had in any previous century. If their thinking happens to attach them the more strongly to traditional creeds and ecclesiastical forms, everyone should respect their sense of the importance and value of continuity in institutions. If, on the other hand, intelligent study and intellectual freedom impel them to seek new interpretations and more modern methods, why should they be criticized? Upon the whole, recent religious discussions seem to have had the effect of lessening controversy and of stimulating interest in practical religious life and work.

*The New York
Cathedral
Campaign*

A remarkable evidence of this new spirit has been shown in the support that the people of New York are now giving to the project of completing the Cathedral of St. John the Divine. If ever this undertaking had been looked upon as one that could properly seek support only from members of the Protestant Episcopal Church, that feeling has almost wholly disappeared. For an eloquent expression of the broader view,

our readers have only to turn to the pages in this number of the REVIEW OF REVIEWS, where the Rev. Dr. S. Parkes Cadman makes an appeal on behalf of the cathedral campaign. Dr. Cadman was chosen president of the Federal Council of Churches for a four-year term at the inter-denominational conference held at Atlanta in December. In his earlier experience, he was a prominent Methodist minister in England. Now, for many years, he has been an American leader, occupying the pulpit of the Central Congregational Church of Brooklyn (New York City). Hundreds of thousands of people—perhaps millions—hear Dr. Cadman's voice as it is broadcast every Sunday afternoon. He is not at all afraid that the building of a great cathedral will give the Episcopalians an undue advantage. Bishop Manning, on his part, has made it clear that no such advantage is desired. The labor unions of New York have organized committees to assist in the cathedral campaign. Citizens of all creeds have been making contributions. Perhaps never since those ages of faith that witnessed the building of the European cathedrals has an edifice for religious worship in a cosmopolitan center been built with a more genuine outpouring of community spirit than that which has now been stimulated in New York. Assurances have been given that the Cathedral of St. John the Divine shall forever minister broadly to the moral and spiritual well-being of the city. The people of New York are receiving much more than they are giving, by virtue of the progress in coöperation for good things that the cathedral project has fostered.

*Also, the
Washington
Cathedral*

New York is not the only American city that is to have a Protestant cathedral of such proportions and architectural character as to rank with the largest and most beautiful of the religious structures that are the glory of England, France, and Italy. The first step in such a project is to secure a site that will be ample in area and permanently commanding in its location and topography. This was accomplished many years ago in the case of New York, as our readers will find duly set forth elsewhere in this issue. Similar good fortune attended the initial plans for the cathedral at Washington; so that, when completed, it will be one of the chief

architectural attractions of the Capital City. As in the case of New York, a portion of the Washington structure is completed and in use. It is in the crypt of this building that pilgrims daily visit the tomb of Woodrow Wilson. Bishop Freeman's conception of the character and uses of the national cathedral is broad and generous. Washington especially needs a church of great size and monumental character for many occasions. We shall, in the near future, publish an article explaining in some detail the development of this project.

*The Churches
Grow More
Democratic*

There had seemed for a time to have been in the United States a sharp cessation in the building of new churches, and a rather alarming neglect of those that already existed. With a church attendance much reduced, the ministerial profession seemed to be losing its relative influence; and the theological seminaries had so declined in numbers that some of them were at the point of closing their doors. There are now many signs that this period of stagnation is at an end. Heresy-hunting has become so unpopular, and so nearly obsolete, that liberalism—not having to fight for the right to think and speak sincerely—tends to become sober-minded and constructive. There is little temptation to waste breath in assailing an orthodoxy that no longer seeks to persecute heretics, that has ceased to live on the dry husks of metaphysical theology. The so-called “fashionable” churches are extinct, in so far as they could be accused of catering to the wealthy and the exclusive. This change for the better is helped by the

fact that social classes can no longer be distinguished by their appearance, the day having arrived when the daughters of the working man dress as attractively as those of the millionaire.

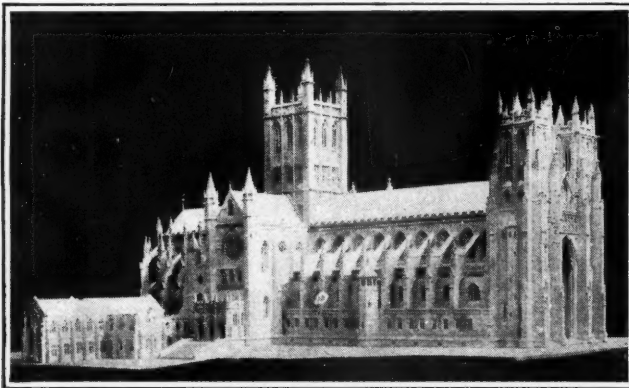
*Clerical
Tendencies*

Furthermore, the clerical profession itself has become democratic in the extreme, detesting snobbishness, though encouraging in all circles the cultivation of mind and the development of character. Union Theological Seminary of New York has just completed a great endowment campaign; and it is drawing enthusiastic students from every State and from many foreign countries. It is reported from many other theological seminaries that attendance is increasing and that the quality of men entering the ministry is higher now than heretofore. In almost every city, the ministers of different denominations are associated through representative boards and committees; and in domestic and foreign missionary fields coöperation is taking the place of an unbecoming rivalry of denominations. The religious press and religious books find much larger circulation than ten years ago. Jews and Christians are coöperating in religious as well as in social and philanthropic work, with a growth of mutual appreciation that would have seemed unbelievable even a very short time ago.

*Radio as
Aid to Church
and School*

The question has often been asked whether the radio will have a tendency to keep people away from Sunday services in the churches.

Experience begins to show that the effect is just the opposite. The radio may, however, be a great boon on Sundays to invalids and others who could not under any circumstances attend church services. It is interesting to note that a powerful broadcasting station installed several weeks ago at Denver is now extending the services of a popular church throughout the entire Rocky Mountain region. When it is remembered how isolated are many

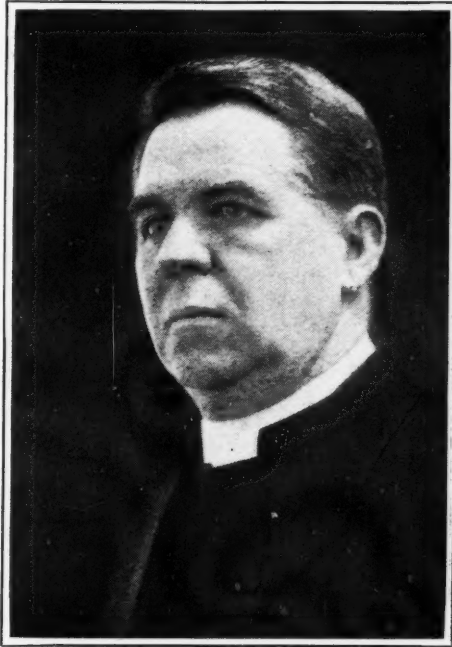


THE NATIONAL CATHEDRAL AT WASHINGTON AS IT WILL APPEAR
WHEN COMPLETED
(From the architect's model)

families in that part of the country, it will readily be understood that the radio may prove to be a great aid to the churches. It is reported that the Iowa State University has begun to give extension courses in a number of subjects over the radio. People who listen to the lectures regularly, as broadcast from Iowa City, may be duly registered, and may receive certificates for their work, upon a plan that will doubtless be developed through further experience and that will be observed with keen interest by other institutions. Some days ago Mr. Bayard Dodge, president of the American University at Beirut, Syria, arrived at New York, and at a convenient hour in the evening he addressed an invisible but vast audience on the present condition and growing influence of American educational institutions in Turkey and the Near East. Thus almost every day the radio finds more serious and valuable uses; and accordingly the stocks of the radio companies have been booming at a great rate in Wall Street.

*A Catholic
Year of
Pilgrimages*

Every quarter-century a Holy Year is proclaimed by the Pope at Rome. For one reason or for another it has not always been feasible to celebrate Holy Year on a great scale. This year, however, Christendom is at peace, and there is nothing to prevent the movement of pilgrims in great numbers to the Eternal City. Rome is expecting to welcome more than a million visitors in this year 1925. We are publishing in this number an article by a competent writer who explains the preparations that have been made to receive the expected hosts. American Catholics will cross the Atlantic by the scores of thousands, and 1925 will almost certainly prove to be the banner year of travel abroad. It may be safely estimated that considerably more than five hundred million dollars will be spent by Americans in Europe this year. The new year book issued by the Federal Council of Churches, and edited by Dr. E. O. Watson, gives the Roman Catholic population of the United States as 18,260,793. The actual membership of Protestant churches is summed up as 48,224,014, while the adherents of protestantism are estimated at something more than 79,140,000. A Catholic broadcasting station is about to be put in operation at New York by the Paulist Fathers.

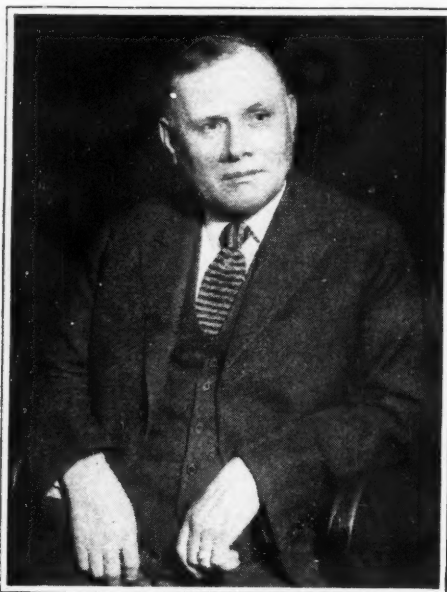


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REV. S. PARKES CADMAN, D.D., OF BROOKLYN,
THE NEW PRESIDENT OF THE FEDERAL
COUNCIL OF CHURCHES

*Religious
Instruction
in Schools*

The attempt in several States to break up the parochial school system, and to compel Catholic children to attend the public schools, seems to have been everywhere defeated on referendum vote in November. Perhaps the plan of arranging for separate religious instruction at stated hours may gradually relieve our Catholic population from the burden of supporting a school system of their own, while at the same time paying taxes for the free public schools. In the large manufacturing town of Bridgeport, Connecticut, where there are 20,000 school children, it is reported that fully half of this number were enrolled early in January in classes for religious instruction that take one hour a week of regular school time, these classes being conducted by visiting teachers representing the different church allegiances of parents. Apart from specific church relations, the Catholics and Protestants of the United States are increasingly harmonious and coöperative in matters pertaining to the social welfare of their neighborhoods. There is much evidence to this effect.



MR. WILLIAM GREEN, OF OHIO

(Who succeeds Samuel Gompers as President of the American Federation of Labor)

The New Head of Organized Labor The vacancy in the office of president of the American Federation of Labor caused by the death of Samuel Gompers was almost immediately filled by the selection of William Green. Mr. Green lives in Coshocton, Ohio, a coal mining town where he was born fifty years ago, and where he went to work in the mines at the age of sixteen. For twenty-five years he has been an official of the Mine Workers' Union, except for four years during which he served prominently in the Ohio State Senate. For some years he has been one of the ten members of the executive council of the American Federation, and his choice as president was made by his fellow members. It is understood that he will hold office until October, when the great convention of the Federation is to meet at Atlantic City. Mr. Green at once announced that he would adhere to "those fundamental principles of trade unionism so ably championed by Mr. Gompers, and upon which the superstructure of organized labor rests." Further in his brief statement, Mr. Green declared:

We will endeavor to promote collective bargaining, the observance of wage agreements, and the acceptance of the organized labor movement by all classes of people as a logical, necessary moral force

in the economic, industrial, and social life of our nation. While striving for the attainment of these praiseworthy purposes, we shall ever be mindful of our duties and obligations as American citizens. . . . Our problems must be met and solved upon the basis of American fair play, and in accordance with American traditions and American ideals.

Mr. Green's Positions

Since it is generally expected that Mr. Green's selection will be ratified by organized labor as a whole in the convention at Atlantic City, it is interesting to know something of his convictions as well as his personality. He belongs to the conservative wing, and has been opposed to the recognition of Soviet Russia. He was one of the minority in the council that did not favor the official ratification of Mr. LaFollette's nomination by the labor union movement. He is opposed to the forming of a Labor party in American politics. He does not believe in the rapid entry by organized labor upon business enterprises of its own, and is on record as not favoring a labor insurance company. Incidentally, it is to be noted that the Prohibitionists like Mr. Green's personal attitude on the drink question. On that subject he differs radically from his eminent predecessor.

What Gompers Lived to Witness

Mr. Gompers was a man of remarkable mentality, and an impressive and powerful orator. His sheer courage and persistence brought him through many experiences that would have overwhelmed a man of less ability and vital force. In this magazine, thirty years ago, his economic views and his practical aims were set forth at length and with remarkable clarity. The position of wage earners has even more greatly improved in this period of thirty years than Mr. Gompers could have expected. No one would deny that his leadership has helped in many ways to make those gains more uniform and substantial than they might otherwise have been. Undoubtedly, high wage scales and short hours of labor are making marked changes in the conditions of American life. It is true that rents are excessive, and the cost of living decidedly greater than before the war; yet the realized standards are higher, and the average family lives better, while being able to put more money in the savings bank than ever before. These facts make it the more incumbent upon educational leaders to improve their methods, so that

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workingmen's families, with increased leisure and means, may also grow in intelligence and be better qualified for their duties as citizens. Only the confirmed pessimist would fail to recognize the actual signs of progress.

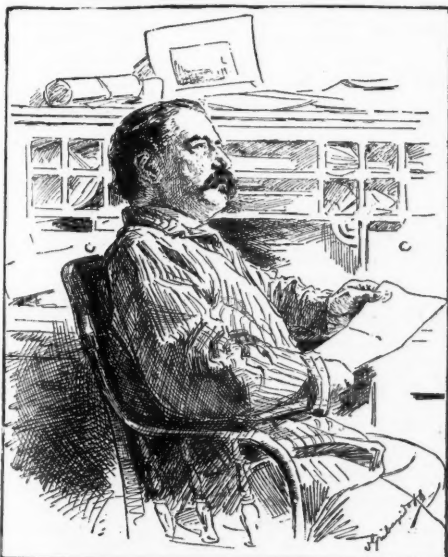
*Facilities
for Popular
Culture*

New York gives generous support to several great institutions, such as the Natural History Museum, the Metropolitan Museum of Art, and the Public Library, with its numerous branches, each of which is trying to cooperate with all other educational agencies for the instruction and entertainment of the whole community. Through affiliation with the public schools, these immense establishments are helping to serve the needs of ever-increasing multitudes. It is to be noted among recent news items that Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., has given a million dollars to promote the educational work of the Metropolitan Museum of Art. A recent extension of this museum is devoted to showing how Americans furnished and decorated their homes a century or two ago; while in another part of the vast building the visitor finds astonishing displays of objects that show how Egyptians ordered their households several thousands of years back. Under Dr. Osborn's brilliant guidance, the Mu-

seum of Natural History sends its exploring scientists to remote parts of Asia, South America, and Africa, to bring back the fossil remains that reveal the history of bygone geologic ages, while also completing the collections that show the almost countless thousands of creatures that share with man the opportunities of life upon this planet. Boston, Philadelphia, Chicago, St. Louis, and many other of our centers of population, are, like New York, more than ever before considering the higher needs of the whole population, and trying to provide opportunities of culture and rational enjoyment not merely for a favored few, but for the young and the mature of every household.

*Improving
the Nation's
Capital*

Meanwhile, there is a great program on foot for the gradual improvement of our Capital City. Washington is constantly attracting visitors from all parts of the country and from other lands; and this tendency will steadily increase. With care to avoid mistakes, and the judicious expenditure of a moderate appropriation every year, Washington can continue to show improvement in its public architecture, and in its parks, monuments and embellishments. Such an investment will be fully justified by the benefits that it will confer upon the country at large. The approaching inauguration of President Coolidge will take to Washington many thousands who have not seen the Federal District since the end of the war. These visitors, doubtless, will join in the opinion that the time has now come for pushing ahead earnestly with various deferred projects for giving the Government additional buildings, and for perfecting the city in other respects. It is time to begin the memorial bridge that will lead from the Lincoln monument to Arlington. The wooded shores of the Potomac on the Virginia side should be secured for park purposes, and great developments should be made in the direction of the Falls of the Potomac. The Roosevelt memorial monument is yet to be constructed. The cathedral, which of course is a matter of voluntary gifts, deserves consideration. An immense archives building should be constructed without delay. All these things can be done without to any appreciable extent affecting Mr. Coolidge's wise policy of economy.



THE LATE SAMUEL GOMPERS, AS HE LOOKED
THIRTY YEARS AGO

(From a drawing made from life for the REVIEW OF REVIEWS
by Gribayedoff, in 1894)



ONE OF THE FRONTS OF THE AMERICAN WING OF THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART IN NEW YORK

(This facade is a replacement, stone by stone, of the front of the old United States Assay Building on Wall Street, recently torn down, and originally built in 1824)

*The Navy
Discussion
Ended*

The present session of Congress has furnished ample news for the daily press, but little that survives when subjected to a month's perspective. The flurry about our defects in the navy was ended by President Coolidge's firm stand. Secretary Hughes—and eventually the Navy Department—supported the President in taking the view that our fleet is in fair condition. And, anyhow, it was agreed that we ought to

course, is such a development of commercial aviation as would contribute in case of need to our means of defense.

*Postal
Questions*

Undoubtedly the Post Office employees are not properly paid. President Coolidge, in the previous term of Congress, had vetoed a bill that called for a very large sum of money, not because he was opposed to the plan of increased salaries but because he

avoid doing anything that might seem to be encouraging again the spirit of naval competition. If our British friends would prefer that we should not elevate our naval guns so that their range might equal that of their own dreadnoughts, Mr. Coolidge is entirely contented. He will not allow our navy to deteriorate through negligence; but he deems it best to emphasize the program of disarmament rather than that of up-to-the-minute preparedness. The pending Naval Appropriation bill provides for some building of cruisers and submarines. What we most need, of



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THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY AT FIFTH AVENUE AND FORTY-SECOND STREET

thought Congress had not dealt frankly with the question of providing the necessary revenue. The attempt to find the necessary two-thirds vote in the Senate to pass the bill over the President's veto failed for lack of a single vote last month. A temporary measure, increasing certain postal rates—especially on newspapers, periodicals, and parcels—has met with wide protest and is hardly likely to pass at this session. The cost of handling the mails can be stated inclusively, but it can not be analyzed in such a way as to give a fair idea of what the different classes of mail matter cost in relation to receipts.

Rural Delivery

Thus rural free delivery was established by Congress as an institution to benefit farmers and promote rural life. This is an unproductive service, and its cost should not be saddled upon the revenues of the Post Office Department. It is fallacious to contend that the cost of the rural delivery service should be borne principally by the publishers of newspapers and magazines, merely because these have more bulk than letters. Thus if the newspapers and magazines were all held at the local post offices, as in former days, the Government would still maintain its rural delivery service with very little, if any, abatement of the cost. The farmers would manage in their own way to get their reading matter from their post offices. It is a convenience for the farmer, rather than a help to the publisher of periodicals, to have the Government deliver such reading matter, as well as letters and parcels, by the rural carriers.

Postal Profits and Losses

The Post Office Department reports that it makes large profits upon first-class matter (sealed letters), and that it loses large sums upon second-class matter (newspapers and periodicals). Figures can be so arranged, to be sure, as to sustain this contention. But there are business facts that should not be forgotten when such figures are used for



THE NEW BUILDING OF THE UNITED STATES CHAMBER OF COMMERCE IN WASHINGTON

(The Capital City, in its recent architectural progress, owes much to the societies and organizations that are providing fine buildings of a public character, though not for governmental purposes)

purposes of rate-making. Thus, it is only because of the dissemination of second-class matter that first-class matter is not carried at an appalling loss. Fully nine-tenths of the letters that form the profitable part of the postal business result from publicity and advertising. If the periodicals and newspapers ceased to carry the advertising appeals of business firms, first-class mail would shrink to a small fraction of its present profitable volume, and the Post Office would be conducted at an enormous loss. The high rates now charged upon advertising under the zone system are, from the business standpoint, mistaken in theory and without excuse in practice. Since it is this very advertising that creates for the Government nearly all of its profitable business, it would be better policy to carry advertising free than to penalize it by high rates, and to subject it to the absurdity of the zoning system.

Already Self-Sustaining

Any well-conducted private corporation could take the postal business off the hands of the Government, restore the uniform rate of one cent a pound on second-class matter that existed before the war, provide a reasonable scale of charges for a universal parcel service, and make some handsome profits upon the enterprise as a whole. Even as matters now stand, the postal service is fully paying its way when duly credited at regular rates with the Govern-

ment business that is now carried free of charge. The encouragement of second-class matter would so greatly increase the volume of profitable first-class matter that postal profits would suffice to pay increased salaries. The abolition of the zone system, and the restoration of the universal one-cent rate on second-class matter would put the postal service on "easy street."

*Senator Borah
in Prominence*

Mr. William Hard contributes to this number a character sketch of the man, who, upon the whole, has become the most conspicuous personage in either branch of Congress. Senator Borah's new duties as chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee have not confined his talents or restricted his range of expression. He has never been more willing to state his views on various subjects than within the past few weeks. Thus he has paid his respects to certain foreign governments on the subject of rum smuggling. He has spoken eloquently as an advocate of the outlawry of war. He has demanded the calling of a world conference on economic questions as well as upon disarmament. As against the preferences of President Coolidge, he has urged an extra session of the new Congress to deal in particular with agricultural problems. During the coming four years, Senator Borah is probably destined to have a much greater part in public affairs than in all of his previous career.

*Motor Trucks
versus
Railways*

The most dramatic move that has come in the mortal competition between steam and gasoline is seen in the recent application of the Boston & Maine Railroad for permission to abandon, at one stroke, 1,000 miles of its road. These branches aggregate about 45 per cent. of the mileage of the entire system, but are now handling only 3 per cent. of its total business and this at a loss. Such an astonishing situation is due very largely to the unrestricted and irregular competition of motor trucks in the compact New England territory served by the Boston & Maine. It is a fact that in every year since 1916 more miles of steam railways have been abandoned than have been built. It was thought that with the brighter prospects for the railroad business this year such a formidable tendency would be reversed; but the action of the Boston & Maine makes it certain that

1924, too, will go down as a year in which the railway transportation system of the United States showed a shrinkage. Between 1890 and 1910, some 80,000 miles of railway were added to our plant—increasing it by more than 50 per cent. The next fourteen years brought an increase of less than 2 per cent. The last eight years, as noted above, have brought in each twelve months an actual shrinkage.

*The Railroads
Fight Back*

So vital has the struggle between trucks and railroads become in New England that the New Haven road has asked for an injunction to prevent bus lines from operating in Rhode Island. The steam railroad attacks its competitors on the score of the danger to its own property and also to the public's right to maintain its transportation plant intact. Other roads are attempting to meet the threat of motor-bus competition by other than aggressive action. A small railroad in the Northwest has gone into the passenger-bus business itself. Commuters into St. Louis find that the Louisville & Nashville "accommodation" train has been withdrawn from one of its divisions, because a new highway paralleling the L. & N. has brought such effective gasoline competition. One of the hardest features of the situation from the standpoint of the railroads is that they are so heavily taxed to supply the very rights of way used freely by their competitors. In 1924 the railways paid about \$350,000,000 in taxes, and the importance of this sum in their whole budget is shown by the fact that the entire total of dividends paid in the same year was \$304,000,000.

*What Is
to Be
Done?*

The answer to this unjust and threatening situation is not, clearly, to prohibit the competition of the gasoline-driven vehicles. The public needs them for the short hauls, and at certain points it is true that they act as feeders for the steam railroads themselves. But with great fleets of motor trucks operating, for instance, regularly between Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Washington, and with the general intensive development of business wherever there are good roads and a certain density of short-haul traffic—it is equally clear that the motor-bus must be required to pay some substantial part of the cost of the highways it uses and that it must come

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under a regulation suitable for common carriers. There must be legislation dealing with the size, weight, and speed of gasoline-driven freight-carrying vehicles; and eventually there must be some public control of the roads with legislative attention paid to regularity and continuity of transport.

*How About
the Oil
Supply?*

It is obvious that steam railroads could never be entirely supplanted by gasoline motors operating on the highways; it is inconceivable that 49,000,000 carloads of freight traffic would find either roadbeds or mechanical requirements for a long-distance, high-speed movement. But aside from these factors, it is extremely doubtful whether we could depend on a continuous and permanent supply of gasoline such as would be necessary to do all the work of the steam railroads; or at any rate, at a cost for the fuel that would make the thing economically possible. Secretary Work, chairman of the President's Oil Conservation Board, which had its first meeting in January, pointed out that the potential oil supply of the United States has been estimated at only 9,000,000,000 barrels, while about 750,000,000 barrels were taken from the ground in the past year. The problem of obtaining sufficient oil to make the wheels of civilization turn may before long become an exceedingly acute one. Seventy per cent. of the world's production of oil is consumed in the United States. An oil famine would paralyze the nation's industries. So far, one new oil field after another has been discovered with a rapidity which has kept the production of the precious mineral ahead of the consumption rather than behind it, with vast quantities put into storage and prices which are probably at times entirely too low. Indeed, experts figure that 30 per cent. of all the oil produced comes from new fields; on the average, half of the oil a given field will produce in its entire life is taken out within the first two years. "If oil companies should fail for a period of years to find at home or abroad new production to offset our depletion, an oil famine would result."

*The
Conservation
Commission*

This Oil Conservation Board, appointed by the President, is composed of Secretaries Work, Hoover, Weeks, and Wilbur. It has asked the oil industry to send its best experts to Washington. The private interests en-

gaged in producing and refining petroleum are keenly alive to the dangers to their industry and to the nation's needs resulting from over-production and waste, and they seem to be entirely in sympathy with this effort to bring some regulated order into the business of taking the mineral from the earth. The commission will deal with the question of how to put on the brakes when a new pool is "brought in" at a time when additional production is not needed. It has in mind coöperating with the oil companies to encourage the creation of reserves which will be opened only as needed. At present it is "everybody for himself and devil take the hindmost" when an important new pool is brought in. Nine-tenths of the owners may wish to conserve the new supply at a time when it is greatly to the public advantage that it should be so conserved—and be unable to carry out such a wise policy because the owners of a few wells wish to rush the product to market and are able to drain off more than their share of the pool supply.

*Gold Turning
the Other
Way*

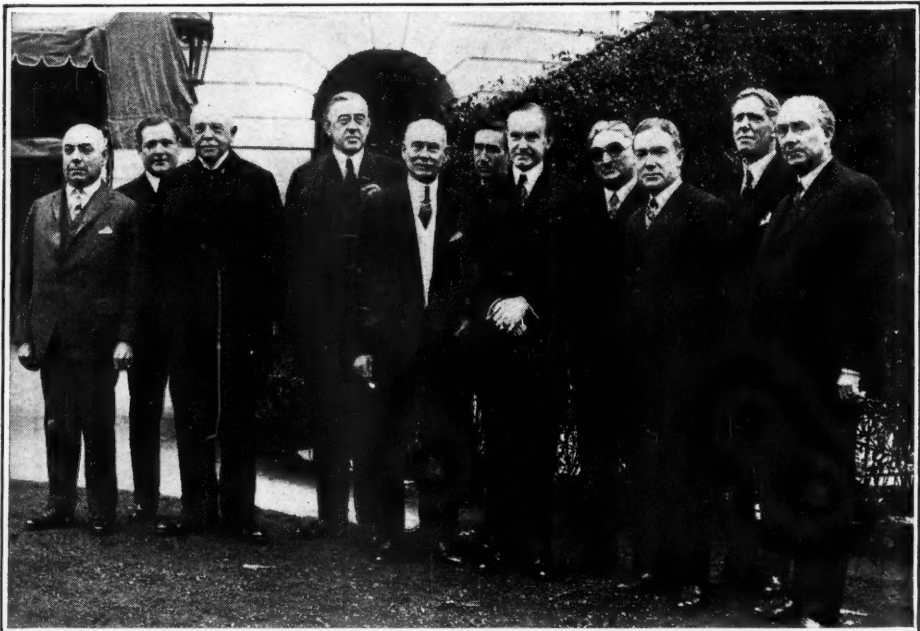
Since 1915 gold has poured into the United States at a rate never before known in the history of the world, rising to \$686,000,000 in the year 1916, and again to \$691,000,000 in the year 1921. Altogether in the ten years ending with December 31, 1924, \$3,879,000,000 of gold have come to us. We have been holding about half of all the gold in the world—a great deal more than we had any good use for, and more than we could continue to hold if the other countries are to work back toward a gold basis for their currencies. Now the tide has turned. In December last more than \$40,000,000 of gold left New York City for Europe, about half of it going to Germany, nearly one-fourth to England, and a seventh to India. This does not mean at all that there is a merchandise trade balance adverse to the United States; on the contrary, there was a favorable balance in 1924 of about \$1,000,000,000. What it does mean is that there is a deliberate world policy as to gold, aiming at the transference of some part of our own unwieldy supply to the countries which are commercially in dire need of it. For instance, the heavy shipments of gold to Germany recently were the result of the loan of \$200,000,000 to that country, the gold either being transported to Germany or staying in the United States "earmarked" for Germany's account. This has enabled

the Reichsbank to support the currency on the gold basis. It is understood that American and Bank of England officials have been in conference, establishing principles under which other nations besides Germany and Great Britain can progress toward the gold standard. Great Britain's progress in that direction is measured by the quotations for pound sterling, which rose from 4.20 about a year ago to 4.79—within a few points of the gold parity figure. This world policy involves, then, giving to nations having depreciated currencies sufficient gold reserves by means of stabilization loans.

*The Law-
Enforcement
Conference*

On January 8, a group of prominent citizens visited Washington and breakfasted with the President at the White House, the object of their visit being to confer with him upon the enforcement of the Eighteenth Amendment, and of the national and State prohibition laws. They represented what

is known as the Citizens' Committee of One Thousand, which was formed last year for the purpose of aiding in measures to stop smuggling, bootlegging, and various forms of violation of the liquor laws. It is not the purpose of this Committee to detect particular crimes or to bring individual offenders to punishment, but rather to encourage by precept and example a public opinion in favor of supporting the prohibition system. The President's position on this question is well known, and it is commonly believed that progress is being made in the suppression of the illicit drink traffic. It seems probable that the prohibition bureau will be transferred from the Treasury Department to the Department of Justice. This would seem to be a logical step to take. It is too soon to know what the Republican legislature of New York will do with the pending proposal to enact legislation to take the place of the Mullan-Gage Act that was repealed on Governor Smith's advice two years ago.



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**MEMBERS OF THE CITIZENS' COMMITTEE OF ONE THOUSAND FOR LAW ENFORCEMENT.
WHO CALLED ON THE PRESIDENT JANUARY 8**

(They presented the committee's views on law enforcement, with particular emphasis on carrying out the provisions of the Volstead Act. From left to right in the group are: S. S. Kresge, the chain-store magnate; Frederick Wallis, Commissioner of Charities of New York; George A. Plimpton, of New York; Patrick Henry Callahan, of Louisville, Ky.; Judge Elbert H. Gary, president of the board of directors of the United States Steel Corporation; William Cochran, of Baltimore. President Coolidge; Frederick B. Smith, chairman of the Citizens' Committee of One Thousand for Law Enforcement, of New York; John D. Rockefeller, Jr.; V. Everit Macy, of New York, and Clifford Barnes, of Chicago)

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RECORD OF CURRENT EVENTS

(From December 15, 1924, to January 15, 1925)

PROCEEDINGS IN CONGRESS

December 15.—Both branches of Congress assemble in the House chamber and hold memorial services for the late Woodrow Wilson; Dr. Edwin A. Alderman, President of the University of Virginia, delivers the eulogy; President Coolidge and a distinguished audience are present.

December 16.—In the Senate, the amendment of Senator Smith (Dem., S. C.), striking from the Underwood Muscle Shoals bill all leasing provisions, is defeated 40 to 32; the amendment would have limited the Muscle Shoals nitrate plant to Government operation; the Underwood bill is designed to permit private operation of the nitrogen plant for fertilizer and ammunition.

December 17.—The House votes to exclude pistols, revolvers, and other firearms from the mails.

In the Senate, unanimous agreement is reached to take up on January 6 the President's veto (last June) of the postal workers' salary increase.

December 18.—In the House, Fred A. Britten (Rep., Ill.) introduces a resolution proposing a conference of white nations adjoining the Pacific; in a heated debate that follows, Mr. Britten is opposed by members from Pacific Coast States.

December 19.—The House Appropriations Committee reports the Treasury supply bill, carrying \$11,000,000 for enforcement of liquor and narcotic laws; the Coast Guard is to get \$9,097,257 additional.

The House passes the Naval supply bill, amounting to \$300,000,000; it provides for 86,000 men and a slight increase in officers, while Marine enlistments are decreased from 19,500 to 18,000; \$14,800,000 is set aside for aviation.

In the Senate, a special sub-committee reports that a Hearst newspaper editorial, by Edwin J. Clapp, printed December 13, which attacked Mr. Underwood (Dem., Ala.) was "neither fair nor honest"; the report is unanimously adopted.

December 20.—The House adopts the Senate resolution, giving \$100,000 to the Secretary of Agriculture for combating the chicken plague.

Both Houses recess for the holidays until December 29; the House has passed supply bills for the departments of Agriculture, Interior, and Navy, while the Senate has held a prolonged debate on Muscle Shoals.

December 29.—Congress reconvenes. . . . In the Senate, Mr. Reed (Rep., Pa.) leads a debate on the payment of the French war debt.

In the Senate, during debate on Muscle Shoals, Chairman Norris (Rep., Neb.), of the Agricultural Committee, introduces a resolution directing the Federal Trade Commission to investigate a so-called "power trust."

December 30.—The House Naval Affairs Committee votes to inquire into the condition of the Navy, as a result of charges that its strength is now

only 4 (instead of 5) as compared with 5 for Great Britain and 3 for Japan.

January 2.—In the Senate, Mr. Robinson (Dem., Ark.) introduces a resolution for an inquiry into the Tariff Commission's sugar report and the delay of President Coolidge in acting on its recommendation for a 25 per cent. reduction of duty; the resolution is tabled.

In the Senate, an amended Administration bill increasing postal rates is reported out of committee; second-class rates would be decreased one-quarter of a cent a pound on reading matter, while the rate on advertising pages would be reduced in distant zones and increased in nearby zones.

The Senate receives from committee the Agricultural appropriation bill amounting to \$124,788,478 an increase of \$125,000 over the House total; the Interior bill is also reported with a total of \$238,991,403, of which \$1,140,477 was added to the House measure.

In the House, a bill is passed authorizing creation of an Alaskan Game Commission.

January 6.—The Senate fails to override the President's veto of the Postal Salary Increase bill, the poll being 55 to 29, or one vote less than the necessary two-thirds; 21 Republicans, 33 Democrats, and 1 Farmer-Laborite vote for the measure, while the Republican vote of 28 to sustain the veto is saved by Mr. Dial (Dem., S. C.).

In the Senate, Daniel F. Steck files a notice of contest over the seat of Smith W. Brookhart, of Iowa.

The Senate adopts the Interior Department appropriation bill.

January 7.—The Senate Appropriations Committee reports the Naval appropriation bill, carrying \$280,000,000, and declares the Navy's capital ships are on the 5-5-3 basis except for the *Florida*, which is refitting. . . . A resolution by Mr. Gerry (Dem., R. I.) is adopted, asking the President what protests have been made over elevation of guns on our ships.

January 8.—The House Naval Affairs Committee is informed by Secretary Wilbur that President Coolidge is opposed to gun elevation, although experts believe it would not violate the treaty.

The Senate, in committee of the whole, substitutes the Underwood Muscle Shoals leasing bill for the Norris Government operation bill by vote of 48 to 37; the Underwood measure would give the President until September 1 to lease the nitrate and power plants.

January 9.—The House Committee on Naval Affairs abandons efforts to remedy fleet defects.

In the House, the War Department supply bill is passed, carrying \$331,000,000, of which \$40,000,000 is for rivers and harbors.

The Senate sub-committee on prohibition hears Wayne B. Wheeler advocate establishment of a separate prohibition bureau in the Treasury Department, independent of the Revenue Bureau.

In the Senate, the nomination of James R. Sheffield, as Ambassador to Mexico, is confirmed.

January 10.—The House Appropriations Committee reports a bill carrying \$405,700,000 for the Veterans Bureau and \$24,330,000 for the Shipping Board, other items making a total of \$452,349,617.

January 12.—In the Senate, Mr. Borah (Rep., Idaho) demands farm relief legislation to care for fundamental faults of agriculture not temporarily relieved by the Dawes Plan and European crop failure; he says consumers in 1922 paid \$22,500,000,000 for farm products, of which middlemen got \$14,500,000,000, railroads \$500,000,000, and farmers \$7,500,000,000.

January 13.—The Senate substitutes for the Underwood Muscle Shoals bill, by vote of 46 to 33, the Jones amendment providing for a year's investigation; the Jones amendment is then rejected, 40 to 39, and the Norris government-operation amendment substituted, with a further amendment by Mr. McKellar (Dem., Tenn.) providing for fertilizer manufacture.

The Senate passes the first deficiency appropriation bill of \$159,000,000, of which all but \$9,000,000 is for tax refunds.

January 14.—The Senate reverses itself again and adopts the Underwood Muscle Shoals leasing bill, 50 to 30; it provides authority to lease the Government plants for manufacture of nitrates and production of electric power.

The House passes the McFadden bill revising national banking laws, with the Hull amendments for branch banking.

AMERICAN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

December 15.—At New York, Justice John V. McAvoy begins a State investigation of the city transit situation.

The former chief of police of South Portland, Me., Albert G. Brooks, is sentenced to 18 months in the federal penitentiary for conspiracy to violate the Volstead act while in office.

December 16.—In Connecticut, a special election is held to fill the seat of the late Senator Brandegee; Governor-elect Hiram Bingham (Rep.) defeats Hamilton Holt (Dem.) 112,290 to 71,699.

Counsel for Mayor Hylan withdraws from the New York transit inquiry when informed that no cross-examination will be permitted except through counsel to the Justice.

December 17.—Naval Secretary Wilbur institutes a court of inquiry to investigate publication of letters from officers of the Naval War College, divulging confidential information.

December 18.—The first White House state dinner of the season is prepared by the President's chef instead of by outside caterers, in the interest of economy.

December 19.—An Oil Conservation Board is named by the President, composed of the Secretaries of War, Navy, Commerce, and the Interior.

December 20.—James M. Beck, Solicitor-General of the United States, proposes in a public speech that the Supreme Court should give advisory opinions in advance of litigation to Congress and the Executive, claiming that the court has power though precedents are against it.

December 22.—The United States Shipping Board votes 5 to 1 to place the operation of Govern-

ment merchant vessels entirely in the hands of the Fleet Corporation.

December 29.—The Budget Bureau recommends a \$3,000,000 appropriation to purchase the capital stock of the Inland Waterways Corporation; the new recommendation would save \$2,000,000 on a previous congressional appropriation.

Secretary Weeks approves a plan to reward the Army world fliers by promotion and the granting of distinguished service medals.

January 1.—Postmaster-General New announces the dismissal of a clerk in the Senate Post-Office Committee and resignation of one in the House Post-Office Committee; in six different cities six prominent officials have been suspended; the occurrences result from an investigation into the use of funds to "lobby" the proposed wage increases for postal workers.

January 2.—In New Jersey, Assistant United States Attorney Walter D. Van Riper is removed from office by Attorney-General Stone; Van Riper is defended by Senator Walter E. Edge (Rep.) in a public statement.

The Rhode Island General Assembly adjourns its one-year session, the longest ever held in America; the "exiled" Republican Senators return to the State; the new legislature will be composed of 67 Republicans and 33 Democrats in the House, and 33 Republicans and 6 Democrats in the Senate.

Governor Towner, of Porto Rico, reports that the island has had the most prosperous year of its history.

January 5.—The first woman Governor in America, Mrs. Nellie T. Ross, is sworn in at Cheyenne, Wyo.

Associate Justice Joseph McKenna resigns from the Supreme Court, after twenty-seven years' service; the President nominates the Attorney-General, Harlan F. Stone, to succeed him.

The War Finance Corporation cancels all but \$1,000,000 of its \$500,000,000 capital stock, as power to make new loans expired with the turn of the year.

President Coolidge tells the National Council of Farmers Cooperative Marketing Associations that he is in favor of the movement, not as a Government agency but as the private development of farmers themselves.

Three Governors are inaugurated: George H. Dern (Dem.) of Utah, Arthur G. Sorlie (N. P. L.) of North Dakota, and George W. P. Hunt (Dem.) of Arizona.

January 6.—No conference of Governors will be called by President Coolidge, it is announced, to advise State legislatures regarding ratification of the proposed Child Labor amendment.

In Pennsylvania, Thomas Bluett is elected Speaker of the House; he is said to be opposed to Governor Pinchot, though Republican; the legislature, after hearing the biennial message of the Governor, adjourns till January 19.

January 7.—The New York legislature opens, Governor Smith (Dem.) delivering in person an extremely thorough annual message to the Republican majorities of both Houses; he asks for continuation of the 25 per cent. income tax reduction, increased use of water-power, and non-partisan consideration of State problems.

January 8.—The New York City transit inquiry comes to an end, and a report is expected from

Justice John V. McAvoy to Governor Smith within a month. . . . Murray Hulbert, President of the Board of Aldermen, is held by a Supreme Court Justice to have forfeited his \$15,000 office by accepting an unpaid appointment as member of a State park commission.

The California legislature ratifies the Child Labor amendment to the Federal Constitution, voting 69 to 9 in the House and 36 to 3 in the Senate.

In Connecticut, John H. Trumbull succeeds Governor Hiram Bingham.

January 10.—Secretary Hughes resigns the State Department portfolio, as of March 4, and the President appoints Frank B. Kellogg (Ambassador at London) as his successor. . . . Charles Beecher Warren is named to succeed Harlan F. Stone as Attorney-General.

January 12.—The retiring Governor of Kansas,

Jonathan M. Davis (Dem.), is arrested upon charges of accepting bribes for pardons.

The Presidential electors in all the States formally cast their votes.

January 13.—Alanson B. Houghton, Ambassador to Germany, is named to succeed Mr. Kellogg at London.

January 14.—The Agricultural Conference reports to the President on relief measures for the livestock industry; Chairman Robert D. Carey, of Wyoming, states that freight rates on raw products should be reduced, credits extended through Federal Farm Loan Board, and the tariff readjusted; also, free grazing on Government land should be discontinued to reduce production, and a system of leasing substituted.

In South Carolina, the Child Labor amendment is defeated unanimously in both houses of the legislature.

POPULAR AND ELECTORAL VOTE FOR PRESIDENT, 1924

| STATE | POPULAR VOTE | | | | | | | | ELECTORAL VOTE | | |
|---------------------|---------------|------------|-------------------|-------------|----------------|---------------|-------------------|--------------------------|----------------|------------|-------------------|
| | Coolidge Rep. | Davis Dem. | La Follette Prog. | Faris Proh. | Foster Workers | Nations Amer. | Johnson Soc. Lab. | Wallace Com.-wealth Land | Coolidge Rep. | Davis Dem. | La Follette Prog. |
| Alabama..... | 45,005 | 112,966 | 8,084 | 569 | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | 12 | ..... |
| Arizona..... | 30,516 | 26,235 | 17,210 | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | 3 | ..... | ..... |
| Arkansas..... | 40,564 | 84,795 | 13,173 | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | 9 | ..... |
| California..... | 733,250 | 105,514 | 424,649 | 18,365 | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | 13 | ..... | ..... |
| Colorado..... | 193,956 | 75,238 | 69,628 | 966 | 562 | ..... | ..... | ..... | 6 | ..... | ..... |
| Connecticut..... | 246,322 | 110,184 | 42,416 | ..... | ..... | ..... | 1,373 | ..... | 7 | ..... | ..... |
| Delaware..... | 52,441 | 33,445 | 4,979 | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | 20 | 3 | ..... | ..... |
| Florida..... | 30,633 | 62,083 | 8,625 | 5,498 | ..... | 2,315 | ..... | ..... | ..... | 6 | ..... |
| Georgia..... | 30,300 | 123,200 | 12,601 | 231 | ..... | 155 | ..... | ..... | ..... | 14 | ..... |
| Idaho..... | 60,879 | 24,856 | 54,160 | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | 4 | ..... | ..... |
| Illinois..... | 1,453,321 | 576,075 | 432,027 | 2,367 | 2,622 | ..... | 2,334 | 421 | 29 | ..... | ..... |
| Indiana..... | 703,042 | 492,245 | 71,700 | 4,416 | 987 | ..... | ..... | ..... | 15 | ..... | ..... |
| Iowa..... | 537,635 | 162,600 | 272,243 | ..... | 4,937 | ..... | ..... | ..... | 13 | ..... | ..... |
| Kansas..... | 407,671 | 156,310 | 98,461 | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | 10 | ..... | ..... |
| Kentucky..... | 398,966 | 374,855 | 38,465 | 248 | 1,499 | 1,299 | ..... | ..... | 13 | ..... | ..... |
| Louisiana..... | 24,670 | 93,218 | 4,063 | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | 10 | ..... |
| Maine..... | 138,440 | 41,964 | 11,382 | ..... | ..... | ..... | 406 | ..... | 6 | ..... | ..... |
| Maryland..... | 162,414 | 148,072 | 47,157 | ..... | ..... | ..... | 987 | ..... | 8 | ..... | ..... |
| Massachusetts..... | 703,476 | 280,831 | 141,225 | ..... | 2,635 | ..... | 1,668 | ..... | 18 | ..... | ..... |
| Michigan..... | 871,316 | 151,707 | 121,190 | 5,961 | ..... | ..... | 4,957 | ..... | 15 | ..... | ..... |
| Minnesota..... | 420,759 | 55,913 | 339,192 | ..... | 4,427 | ..... | 1,855 | ..... | 12 | ..... | ..... |
| Mississippi..... | 8,494 | 100,475 | 3,494 | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | 10 | ..... |
| Missouri..... | 650,283 | 572,753 | 84,160 | 1,463 | ..... | ..... | 883 | 258 | 18 | ..... | ..... |
| Montana..... | 74,138 | 33,805 | 61,105 | ..... | 357 | ..... | ..... | ..... | 4 | ..... | ..... |
| Nebraska..... | 218,585 | 137,239 | 106,701 | 1,594 | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | 8 | ..... | ..... |
| Nevada..... | 11,243 | 5,900 | 9,760 | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | 3 | ..... | ..... |
| New Hampshire..... | 98,575 | 57,201 | 8,903 | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | 4 | ..... | ..... |
| New Jersey..... | 676,277 | 298,043 | 100,028 | 1,660 | 1,560 | 368 | 853 | 265 | 14 | ..... | ..... |
| New Mexico..... | 54,541 | 48,461 | 9,233 | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | 3 | ..... | ..... |
| New York..... | 1,820,058 | 950,706 | 474,905 | ..... | 8,244 | ..... | 9,928 | ..... | 45 | ..... | ..... |
| North Carolina..... | 191,753 | 284,270 | 6,651 | 13 | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | 12 | ..... |
| North Dakota..... | 94,931 | 13,858 | 89,922 | ..... | 370 | ..... | ..... | ..... | 5 | ..... | ..... |
| Ohio..... | 1,176,130 | 477,888 | 357,948 | ..... | ..... | ..... | 3,025 | 1,246 | 24 | ..... | ..... |
| Oklahoma..... | 260,815 | 225,047 | 40,607 | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | 10 | ..... |
| Oregon..... | 142,579 | 67,880 | 68,403 | ..... | ..... | ..... | 917 | ..... | 5 | ..... | ..... |
| Pennsylvania..... | 1,401,481 | 409,192 | 307,567 | 9,779 | 2,737 | 13,035 | ..... | ..... | 38 | ..... | ..... |
| Rhode Island..... | 125,286 | 76,666 | 7,628 | ..... | 289 | ..... | 268 | 38 | 5 | ..... | ..... |
| South Carolina..... | 1,123 | 49,008 | 620 | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | 9 | ..... |
| South Dakota..... | 101,299 | 27,214 | 75,355 | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | 5 | ..... | ..... |
| Tennessee..... | 131,064 | 158,537 | 16,732 | 115 | ..... | 102 | ..... | ..... | ..... | 12 | ..... |
| Texas..... | 129,678 | 481,874 | 42,767 | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | 20 | ..... |
| Utah..... | 77,327 | 47,001 | 32,662 | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | 4 | ..... | ..... |
| Vermont..... | 80,498 | 16,124 | 5,064 | 326 | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| Virginia..... | 73,328 | 139,717 | 10,360 | ..... | ..... | ..... | 180 | ..... | ..... | 12 | ..... |
| Washington..... | 220,224 | 42,846 | 150,727 | 761 | 5,591 | 1,004 | ..... | ..... | 7 | ..... | ..... |
| West Virginia..... | 288,635 | 257,232 | 36,723 | ..... | 1,072 | ..... | ..... | ..... | 8 | ..... | ..... |
| Wisconsin..... | 311,614 | 68,096 | 453,678 | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | 13 |
| Wyoming..... | 41,858 | 12,868 | 25,174 | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | 3 | ..... | ..... |
| Totals..... | 15,756,393 | 8,353,164 | 4,823,606 | 53,571 | 31,087 | 23,937 | 30,647 | 2,248 | 382 | 136 | 13 |

Total vote, 29,074,653. Coolidge's plurality, 7,403,223.

This table has been compiled in the editorial office of the REVIEW OF REVIEWS after direct communication with officials of each of the forty-eight States. The figures are final.

FOREIGN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

December 15.—Austen Chamberlain, British Foreign Minister, speaks for an hour and a half before the House of Commons, and debate on Egypt ends with a vote for the Baldwin Government of 363 to 132; Chamberlain says interference in Egypt by another power would be an unfriendly act.

Chancellor Marx and his German Cabinet resign.

December 16.—Albania suffers from a revolution engineered by Ahmed Zogu, former Premier, from Dibra, near the Serbian frontier.

The French Chamber grants amnesty to ex-Premier Caillaux and to Louis Malvy, former Minister of Interior; Caillaux was convicted in 1918 of impeding prosecution of the war, Malvy of communication with the enemy.

December 17.—Prime Minister Baldwin outlines in the House of Commons the Government policies on economic questions like tariff and unemployment.

December 19.—The House of Commons takes a holiday recess until February 10.

December 20.—Premier Mussolini introduces a bill to revive the old election law recently replaced at his request by the present Fascist act; the budget is adopted, 240 to 17; he adjourns the Chamber until January 3.

December 22.—The Egyptian Cabinet decides to dissolve Parliament and hold elections in sixty days; the new legislative body will assemble ten days after election.

December 23.—In Rumania, 400 Communists are arrested by state police.

Great Britain moves to assemble delegates to an Imperial Conference early in March to discuss the League protocol for disarmament and security.

December 24.—Tirana, seat of the Albanian Government, is occupied by former Premier Ahmed Zogu Bey, who controls central and northern Albania; Bishop Fan S. Noli, Premier, escapes with his Cabinet to Italy.

December 25.—In Chile, Pedro Leon Ugalde is sentenced to three years banishment for radicalism.

December 27.—The French budget as submitted to the Parliament does not include either the British or the American debt, and a 300-page memorandum attached to the budget indicates expectation of a reduction in those debts. . . . France owes the United States \$2,933,655,231.06 plus \$650,000,000 interest, and owes Great Britain £445,000,000 plus £174,000 interest.

December 29.—At Kalgan, China, 489 looters in the Army are tried by court martial and executed.

January 1.—The Yugoslav Cabinet unanimously orders the breaking-up of the Croatian Peasant party headed by M. Radich.

January 2.—There is rioting in Italy over Fascist opposition by Communists; a score of newspapers in Rome, Milan, Naples, Genoa, Verona, and Turin are seized.

In Nicaragua, Carlos Salazar is inaugurated President.

Brazil extends the state of siege in the States of Rio de Janeiro, Sao Paulo, Matto Grosso, Parana, Santa Catharina, and Rio Grande do Sul.

January 3.—Premier Mussolini declares before the Chamber of Deputies that he will crush all opposition to the Fascisti in forty-eight hours.

January 4.—The Italian Fascisti hold parades throughout Italy.

January 5.—Two Liberal Ministers in the Mussolini Cabinet resign, Sarrocchi and Casati; the Opposition of thirty votes in the Chamber is led by the former Premiers, Giolitti, Orlando, and Salandra.

January 7.—The German Reichstag elects Paul Loebe, a Socialist, as President; the event is considered a blow against the Nationalists.

January 8.—Peasants and Bolsheviks at the Kremlin, in Moscow, confer on extension of Sovietism in villages; it is decided, where 30 per cent. or less of the people vote in a locality, to declare the election void.

January 9.—Chancellor Marx gives up his attempt to form a new ministry in Germany against opposition from Foreign Minister Stresemann, head of the People's Party.

January 11.—General Chi Hsieh-yuan, by a *coup d'etat*, takes possession of the entire Shanghai native quarter.

January 12.—Premier Mussolini reopens the Italian Chamber of Deputies and presents a bill to wipe out freemasonry which provides for submitting to the police membership rolls and constitutions or by-laws of all societies; it forbids membership by any person connected with the Government.

January 13.—The Italian Chamber elects Antonio Casertano as presiding officer.

Premier Herriot returns to the French Chamber after an illness.

January 14.—Italian Communists return to the Chamber of Deputies after absenting themselves for two years.

Dr. Hans Luther forms a Coalition Cabinet in Germany, with Stresemann as Foreign Minister, and Schiele (Nationalist) as Minister of Interior, indicating a marked trend to the Right.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

December 15.—The Russian Soviets, through Foreign Minister George Tchitcherin, complain to the United States regarding a Geodetic Survey notice affixed in 1920 to a rock off Chukotsk Peninsula, Siberia, as a violation of sovereignty.

The Spanish withdrawal of troops from the sacred city of Xauen, in Morocco, is announced as completed, 250 positions having been abandoned by some 15,000 men; under the new plan, the peaceful tribes will be encircled, in the interior, by a protecting band of troops and forts pending development of roads and communications enabling permanent advances from time to time.

The second Opium Conference decides to hold a plenary session immediately and adjourn until January 12, when the American proposal for suppression of traffic in manufactured opium will be the first item on the agenda.

December 17.—Agent-General Seymour Parker Gilbert requests the Reparations Commission to define the recovery act and explain how the Dawes Plan annuity is to account for the 26 per cent. tax on German goods imported by England and France.

It is reported that the United States has offered to extend the twelve annual payments of \$20,000,000 each—due under the Wadsworth agreement covering army-of-occupation costs—over twenty years, this would include the \$300,000,000 American

war damage claims as well as the \$255,000,000 army cost.

December 18.—The Department of State at Washington breaks precedent by issuing a cabled greeting to the newly appointed Japanese Ambassador, Tsuneo Matsudaira, welcoming him and his wife as representing "two of the most important and historically famous families of the empire."

December 19.—Germany inquires of the League Secretariat regarding relief, upon joining the League of Nations, from military obligations.

December 20.—Tsuneo Matsudaira, new Ambassador to the United States at Washington, declares in Japan that "there are no issues whatsoever between the two countries endangering the existing cordial relations" . . . Ambassador Baron Hayashi, at London, says: "The jingoes are going to find it more and more difficult as time goes on to get their way, which is not the way of peace."

December 21.—It is learned that the American reply to the British note on United States reparations participation demands recognition of the validity of the Berlin treaty as a condition precedent to attending the January financial conferences.

December 22.—Ambassador Jules J. Jusserand declares, in an address, that France wants and intends to pay her debts, but needs a moratorium.

December 24.—The Peking Government addresses the foreign powers, suggesting early conference on matters of Chinese progress, pledging observance of all treaties.

December 26.—The Bulgarian Premier, M. Tsankoff, confers at Belgrade with Dr. Nintchitch, Yugoslav Foreign Minister, regarding Balkan co-operation against Communism.

December 27.—The Allied Council of Ambassadors decides not to evacuate the Cologne bridgehead on January 10, as provided in the Versailles Treaty, giving as the reason that Germany is re-arming.

December 30.—The Rt. Hon. Montague Collet Norman, Governor of the Bank of England, arrives at New York on a visit.

January 2.—The French Government, through M. Clementel, Minister of Finance, is reported to have proposed in a note to the United States a ten-year war debt moratorium, with an interest rate of 1 per cent. until the debt is paid after ninety years.

Paul Boncour is named to represent France on the League Committee on Coördination which meets February 16 to arrange for a world conference on disarmament. . . . Dr. José Leon Suarez, of Argentina, accepts membership on the Committee for Codification of International Law.

January 3.—In Morocco, Spanish troops are reduced from 146,000 to 105,000 after evacuation of 5,000 square kilometers of territory; General Primo de Rivera remains at Tetuan, revising staff plans.

January 6.—Germany replies to an Allied note refusing to evacuate the Cologne bridgehead, protesting it is a fundamental breach of treaty.

The Yugoslav reply to the League transmittal of the Albanian protest of Premier Noli denies all charges. Ahmed Zogu Bey has succeeded Noli.

January 7.—An Allied Financial Conference opens at Paris, with Ambassadors Herrick and Kellogg and Col. James A. Logan representing the United States.

January 10.—Winston Churchill and Colonel Logan reach agreement on American war-claims

payments under the Dawes Plan; the army of occupation costs of \$255,000,000 are to be paid in 17 instalments of \$55,000,000 each, beginning September 1, 1926, when Belgian priority ends; the \$350,000,000 war-damage claims will be paid over forty years by allowing America 2¼ per cent. of general reparation payments (about 45,000,000 gold marks a year); the Wadsworth agreement is superseded.

January 11.—German reparation payments reach a total of 286,263,447 gold marks, of which France has received 113,600,000, and England, 65,800,000.

January 14.—An international police code goes into effect in thousands of cities throughout the world; it was begun in May, 1923, by Commissioner Enright of New York, for the capture and detection of criminals.

The international financial accord is signed at Paris; the Ruhr occupation profit is fixed as 800,000,000 gold marks (\$100,000,000), and the agreement is exceedingly technical and complex; the signatory countries are: Belgium, France, Great Britain, Italy, Japan, the United States, Brazil, Greece, Portugal, Rumania, Yugoslavia, and Czechoslovakia (see page 162).

OTHER OCCURRENCES OF THE MONTH

December 18.—The Pope, in an allocution to the Cardinals, on the return of the Russian Pontifical Relief Mission, denounces socialism and communism as dangerous to family, society, and government; he felicitates Catholics in France for "uniting with marvelous singleness of purpose to defend the religious interests" of France.

December 19.—William Green, of the United Mine Workers of America, is elected president of the American Federation of Labor, succeeding the late Samuel Gompers.

December 22.—Charles E. Mitchell, of the National City Bank of New York, announces a plan for employee ownership of 100,000 shares of the bank's capital stock, purchasable at \$275 (market price, \$410).

December 25.—Near Hobart, Okla., 36 persons are burned to death in a fire from an upset candle on a Christmas tree during a celebration at the Babb Switch School.

Pope Pius inaugurates the twenty-third jubilee year by opening the "Holy Door" in the basilica of St. Peter's, sealed twenty-five years ago, this is the pilgrimage year for Roman Catholics (see page 197).

The London-to-Paris air express crashes after the take-off at Croyden, and eight persons are burned to death.

The General Electric Company announces that production of fused quartz has been put on a factory basis; it is used for transmitting a wider range of light rays than other media and has a very low coefficient of thermal expansion.

December 28.—Viscount Cecil of Chelwood (Lord Robert Cecil) is presented with a medal by the Woodrow Wilson Foundation, which awards a prize to him of \$25,000 for the most meritorious service of the year for international peace based on justice.

December 29.—John D. Rockefeller, Jr., gives to the Metropolitan Museum of Art 16,000 shares of Standard Oil of California, valued at \$1,000,000; another gift of \$250,000 is made to Yugoslavia for public health improvement.

The new Mosque of Mecca Temple in New York City is dedicated by 8,000 Masonic Nobles.

January 1.—The American Telegraph and Telephone Company inaugurates operatic broadcasting over the radio, with a concert by Lucrezia Bori and John McCormack.

January 2.—The Clyde liner *Mohawk* burns at sea; all persons aboard (287) are saved, and the ship is scuttled in Delaware Bay.

January 3.—The stock market breaks all trading records for eighteen years with a Saturday short session of 1,474,750 shares; since election, the market has advanced an average of 13.21 points.

January 12.—George F. Baker, veteran railroad financier and banker, is paid high tribute in a testimonial dinner at New York; Mr. Baker's message is: "So live and conduct your lives as to gain the love and affection of your fellows."

January 13.—At Cleveland, Ohio, a heresy trial is held before the Court of Review of the Episcopal Church of an appeal by Bishop William Montgomery Brown, of Galion, Ohio.

OBITUARY

December 15.—Theodore Frank Appleby, Congressman-elect from the Third New Jersey District, 60. . . . Edward Young Blum, secretary of American Farm Congress, 39. . . . Prof. David Newmark, Jewish philosopher and historian, 58. . . . Dr. William Blake Odgers, British authority on law of libel and slander, 75.

December 16.—John O. Tabor, chief of the Boston fire department, 60.

December 17.—James T. McCleary, former Representative in Congress from Minnesota.

December 18.—Julius Kahn, Representative in Congress from California for a quarter-century and an authority on military affairs, 63. . . . William Outis Allison, trade publisher and banker, 75. . . . James Rankin Young, former Congressman from Pennsylvania, 75. . . . Selah G. Blakeman, Connecticut G. A. R. veteran, 83.

December 19.—Prof. Horace Lemuel Wells, Yale chemist, 69. . . . John L. Billard, Connecticut financier, 82. . . . Sir William Ingram, owner of the London *News* and *Sketch*, 77.

December 20.—Dr. Eugene Solomon Talbot, noted stomatologist, 77. . . . Augustus Ledyard Smith, Massachusetts paper manufacturer, 62. . . . The Rt. Hon. Sir George William Buchanan, formerly British Ambassador at Rome and Petrograd, 70.

December 21.—Dr. W. H. Slingerland, children's aid specialist, 70.

December 22.—Rear Adm William Knickerbocker Van Reyepen, U. S. N. retired, former Surgeon-General of the Navy, 84. . . . Dr. Cladius B. Kinyon, University of Michigan gynecologist, 73.

December 23.—The Rev. Dr. John Fox of, Easton, Pa., noted Presbyterian fundamentalist and author, 71. . . . Prof. Frank N. Whittier, Bowdoin pathologist, 63. . . . Dr. William D. Alscover, physician of Syracuse, N. Y., 49.

December 24.—Dr. Otto R. Eichel, of Albany, N. Y., chief of the League of Nations epidemiological service. . . . Dr. Robert F. Brunel, Bryn Mawr chemist, 43. . . . Olaf Hoff, noted tunnel engineer, 65. . . . Randolph Marshall, New York editor, 51. . . . Dr. Philip Rahtjen, scientist who discovered anemia germ.

December 25.—Thomas H. Payne, merchant, of Chattanooga, Tenn., 82. . . . Emilio Gallori, Italian sculptor. . . . James G. Rice, editor of the *Chattanooga News*, 69. . . . Daniel K. Lester, chief engineer of the *Monitor* in the battle with the *Merrimac*, 86.

December 26.—Dr. George Downing Liveing, noted British chemist and president of St. John's College, Cambridge, England, 97. . . . Mother Walburga (Hoch), O. S. B., founder of many Benedictine communities, 84. . . . Gen. James M. Cochran, of Dallas, Tex., Confederate veteran, 78.

December 27.—Leon Bakst, noted stage designer and costumer, and painter, 57. . . . Carl Lotave, portrait painter, 46. . . . Charles L. Condit, editor, 79. . . . Charles Edwards Holden, Ohio banker and editor, 96.

December 28.—A. Henry Savage Landor, artist and explorer, 68. . . . Robert Wood Brown, editor of the *Elks National Magazine*, 62. . . . John N. Brockway, dramatic critic, 78. . . . Sir William Emerson, British architect, 81.

December 29.—W. Winslow Williams, from 1902 to 1912 Secretary of State in Maryland, 63. . . . Carl Spitteler, Swiss poet and essayist, 79.

December 30.—Cardinal Oreste Giorgi, of Rome.

December 31.—George Winthrop Fairchild, former Congressman from the Twenty-fourth New York District, 71.

January 1.—Sir Francis Carruthers Gould, noted British political cartoonist, 80.

January 2.—Prof. J. Bergonie, noted French roentgenologist, 67. . . . James William Husted, former Representative in Congress from New York, 54.

January 3.—James Hoge Tyler, former Governor of Virginia, 75. . . . Ralph Richards, originator of the "safety first" movement. . . . Dr. Ernst Bumm, German gynecologist, 67.

January 4.—Rear-Adm. William Nelson Little, U. S. N., retired, 72. . . . Dr. Felix Meyer, of the Institute of International Law.

January 5.—Dr. John Marshall, University of Pennsylvania chemist and toxicologist, 69. . . . John McNaughton, cartoonist and inventor of the autocaster, 54. . . . George T. Morgan, engraver at the Philadelphia mint, 79. . . . Alden Sampson, naturalist and author, 72.

January 6.—The Rev. Dr. Newman Smyth, noted Congregationalist of New Haven, Conn., 81. . . . Guernsey Moore, Philadelphia artist and illustrator.

January 7.—Henry Whiting Hayden, New York lawyer, 71.

January 8.—George Wesley Bellows, noted painter, 42. . . . Dr. Ross Jewell, registrar of Syracuse University, 49.

January 9.—Edward M. Morgan, for fifty years in the postal service, and since 1907 Postmaster of New York City, 69.

January 12.—Newell Bertram Woodworth, Syracuse lawyer and former head of the Sons of the American Revolution, 64. . . . Prof. George C. Wilson, of Syracuse University, 41. . . . The Rev. Ellsworth E. Moran, widely known Presbyterian, 83. . . . Frederick Fay Wolfe, Methodist missionary to Mexico and Peru, 43. . . . Dr. Norman Bridge, physician and author, 80.

TOPICS OF THE MONTH IN CARTOONS



THE BEST ECONOMY

From the *Tribune* © (Chicago, Ill.)



AFTER FOUR YEARS OF SERVICE

From the *World* (New York City)

THE work of Congress, the disposition of the Government's nitrate plant at Muscle Shoals, and the proposed Child Labor Amendment have furnished the principal themes for cartoon comment in the American press during recent weeks. Abroad, England's quarrel with Egypt and the interallied debts have been the leading topics.



GO SOUTHWEST, YOUNG WOMAN!

From the *News* (Dallas, Texas)

[Texas now has a chance to boast]



LEGISLATION ON CAPITOL HILL

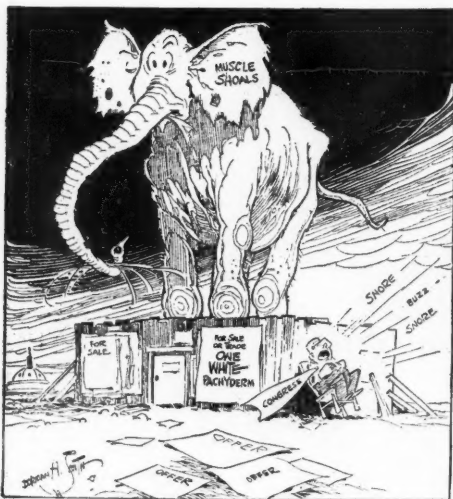
From the *Post* (Washington, D. C.)



A MOTHER GUARDS BEST HER OWN CHILDREN

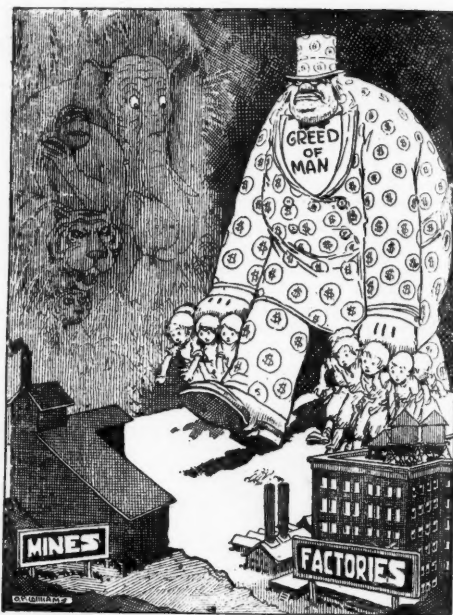
From the *Chronicle* (San Francisco, Cal.)

[This newspaper took a leading part in California in opposition to the proposed Child Labor amendment. But the amendment was ratified by the legislature of that State on January 8, by large majorities in both houses. It will be noted that the *Chronicle* opposed the amendment principally on the ground that California is quite capable of protecting her own children. Advocates of the amendment would be ready to admit that point, while branding some other States as backward.]



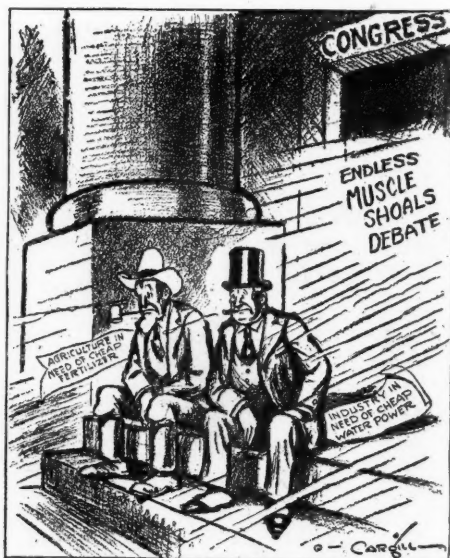
OUR MODERN WHITE ELEPHANT

From the *Capital* (Topeka, Kans.)



THE ONLY ANIMAL THAT PERSISTS IN EXPLOITING ITS YOUNG

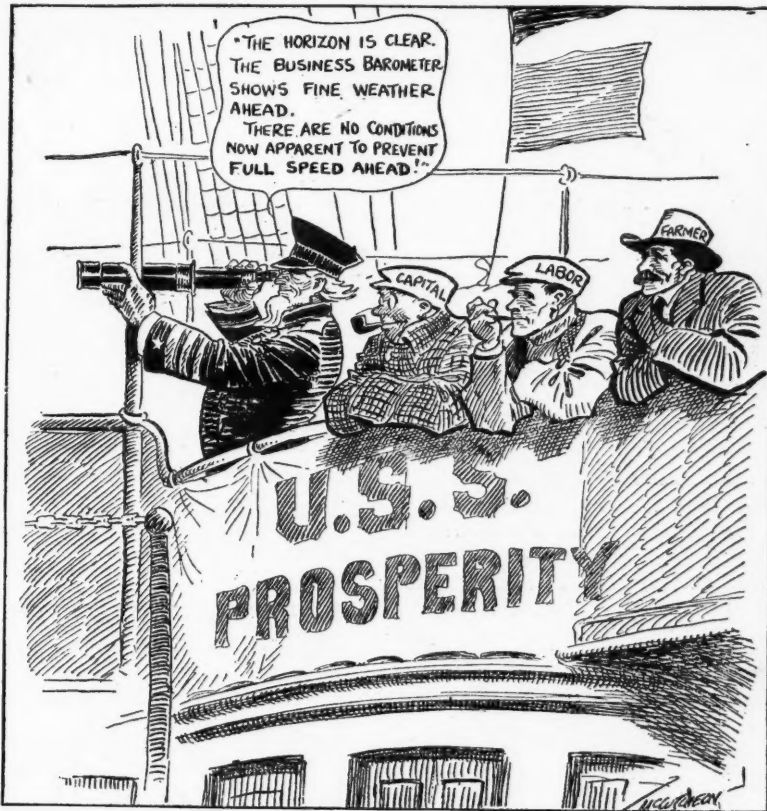
From the *American* © (New York)



BUT HOT AIR WON'T KEEP THEM WARM

From the *Journal* (Kansas City, Mo.)

[Although the Senate passed a Muscle Shoals bill on January 14, that measure differs radically from the one which the House adopted at the last session; and it is likely that much further debate will be heard before legislation is finally adopted by both branches. Meanwhile, this cartoon pictures the farmer in need of fertilizer and the business man in need of water power, more or less patiently sitting on the steps of the Capitol at Washington while the apparently endless discussion drags on.]



FULL SPEED AHEAD!

From the Tribune © (Chicago, Ill.)



NO PLACE TO ROOST—From the News (Chicago, Ill.)



POLAND OFFERS AID TO JOHN BULL

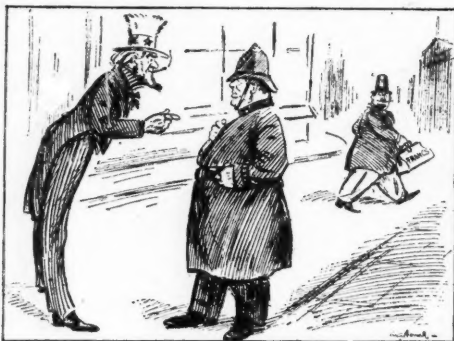
(Poland is the first of the allied nations to take steps to discharge its war debt to Great Britain)

From the *Weekly Dispatch* (London, England)



THE GREAT VENTRILOQUIST ACT

From the *Daily Express* (London, England)



JOHN BULL'S CONSTABLE

UNCLE SAM: "See here, Winston, if yew don't keep in the background a bit you'll frighten our French friend off altogether, and then neither John Bull nor I will see a franc."

From the *Evening Express* (Cardiff, Wales)



A GENTLE REMINDER

UNCLE SAM and JOHN BULL (to the French Marianne): "So you are happy! Satisfactory elections, the loan covered—You will not forget the little bill?"

From *L'Euvre* (Paris, France)



THE DISCONTENTED CHILDREN

UNCLE SAM, JOHN BULL, THE JAP, and THE NETHERLANDER (in unison): "He has more than I!"

From *De Nieuwkraker* (Amsterdam, Holland)



FRANCE'S DEBT TO AMERICA

THE FRENCH MARIANNE: "Come on! Be easy with me, Sammy!"
 UNCLE SAM: "John Bull pays without any fuss!"
 MARIANNE: "Yes—but he made almost as much out of the war as you did!"

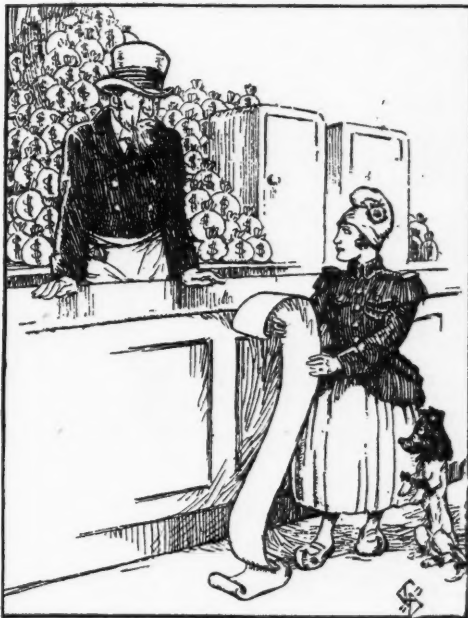
From *De Amsterdammer* (Amsterdam, Holland)



A REAL PUZZLE

JOHN BULL: "This thing's not working out very well, Sam.
 ["Pay all—Get None."] Do you think it's quite square!"

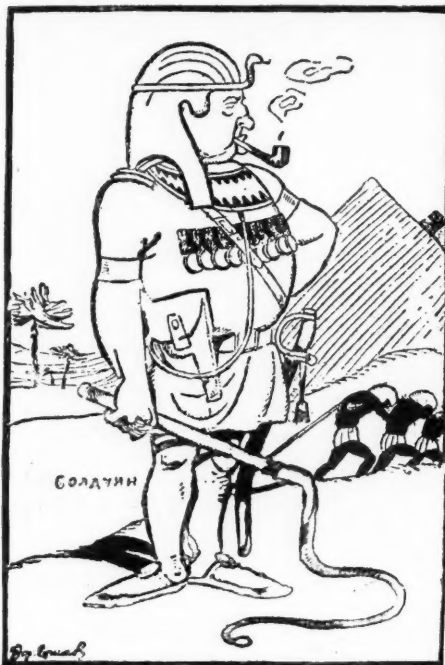
From *Opinion* (London, England)



A PLEA FOR REDUCTION

MARIANNE OF FRANCE (to Uncle Sam): "Would you be good enough to reduce this bill, as most of the money you lent me was spent in your shop?"

From the *Evening Times* (Glasgow, Scotland)



BRITISH PHARAOHS IN EGYPT

(Stanley Baldwin I)

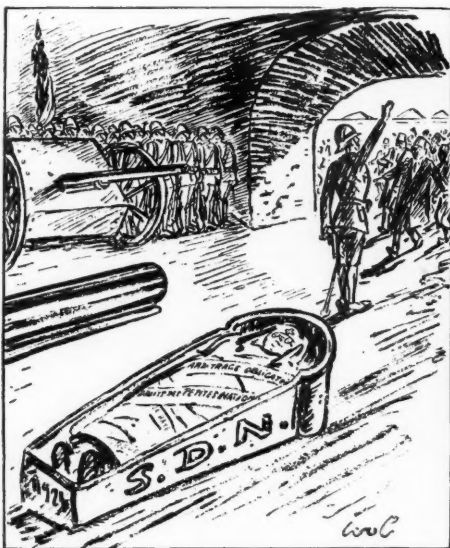
From *Izvestiya* (Moscow, Russia)



WHILE THE POLICEMAN LOOKS ANOTHER WAY

From *Miyako* (Tokyo, Japan)

[The policeman is the League of Nations. Wrathful John Bull did not call for his services in meting out punishment to Egypt, nor did the policeman interpose objection to the severity of the punishment as administered by the British gentleman]



ANOTHER MUMMY—THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

The British will not allow this one to be exhumed.

From *Le Rire* (Paris, France)

[This harks back to the opening of King Tut's tomb. The mummy here is labeled *Société des Nations*, the French term for the League. The British have refused to permit their quarrel with Egypt to be referred to the League of Nations]



THE LONG SILENCE OF THE EGYPTIAN SPHINX IS BROKEN

SPHINX (to John Bull) "Massacring innocent people in the Sudan! Is that a specimen of the humanitarian ideas with which for centuries you have deceived the earth?"

From *Mucha* (Warsaw, Poland)



JOHN BULL RESUMES THE OLD COSTUME

From *De Amsterdammer* (Amsterdam, Holland)

[The *Volkerenbond*—or League of Nations—hat is tossed aside. The Singapore war helmet represents the British move to enlarge the naval base there, against the wishes of Japan. Note the mailed fist labeled "Egypt."]



A RETURN TO OLD METHODS

PEACE (to the British Premier, Baldwin): "Why do you cease the hospitality with which your predecessor greeted me?"

From *Notenkraker* (Amsterdam, Holland)

The assassination of a British official by misguided Egyptian nationalists, on November 19, had been followed by swift and forceful action on the part of the new British Government under Premier Baldwin. Apology and indemnity were demanded and received, while evacuation of the Sudan was less gracefully agreed to by Egypt. The

situation afforded occasion for the cartoon press of other countries to be critical of John Bull's methods and especially his failure to grasp this first opportunity to enlist the services of the great world experiment, the League of Nations—of which Great Britain is a conspicuous member. On these two facing pages we reproduce cartoons relating to the Egyptian crisis from Russia, Japan, France, Holland, Switzerland, and Poland.



PEACE REIGNS IN EGYPT

From *Nebelspalter* (Zurich, Switzerland)



ANOTHER WAY OF LOOKING AT IT

FRANCE: "Did we not agree, John, to respect the independence of peoples?"

BRITAIN: "Yes, Marianne, and I ask you to respect mine!"

From *L'Œuvre* (Paris, France)

BORAH THE INDIVIDUAL

BY WILLIAM HARD

BORAH of Idaho is thought by many connoisseurs of such things to be the premier debater of the whole world. In any case he is certainly the pampered and adulated champion debating matador of the American senatorial arena.

When Borah rises to speak, his fellow-Senators come flocking in from the cloak-rooms exhibiting on their faces those expressions of amused and pleased expectancy which always adorn the human countenance when there is in prospect some spectacle which will be attended by skill in the performer and by a casualty in the life of the performer's adversary.

Seldom are Borah's colleagues balked of their happy anticipations.

With a smile, and with a voice quite conversational in tone, and with a vocabulary quick and graceful and punctiliously courteous, Borah stands behind

his desk, leaning slightly forward, and prods his adversary to mounting rage by argumentative darts so delicately pointed and so precisely placed in charming patterns on his adversary's hide that presently the floor of the Senate is all smiles.

The smiles complete upon his adversary the work that the darts began. His adversary rises and inquires, "Will the Senator yield?"

This is the moment for which the floor and the galleries have been waiting.

"Certainly," says Borah, with urbanity.

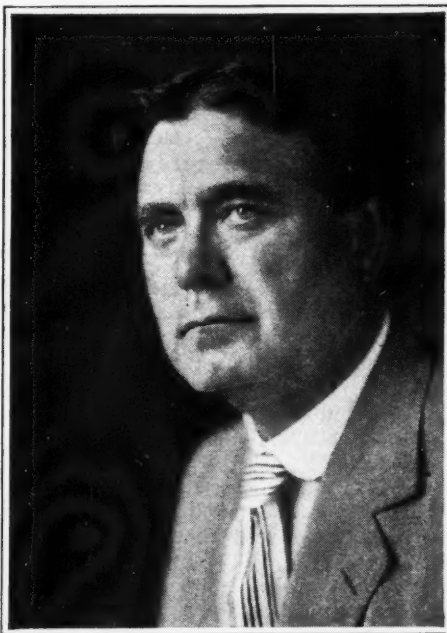
Then his adversary, snorting with pain and fury, rushes straight upon him.

Out now comes the sword of the matador. As his adversary pauses, with lowered horns, about to toss him in the air, an interjected remark from Borah comes with

transcendent swiftness and with gleaming ease straight down into the heart of his adversary's exposed vital point; and the bull sinks to the sand; and Borah, unbreathed, tosses his sword lightly to his desk; and the galleries burst into applause; and the presiding officer threatens to clear the galleries; and Borah's colleagues, including the one just slain, beam upon him as the world's wonder, honoring them by being one of them and by being able to maintain among them the highest debating traditions of the Senate's most gigantic days; and the correspondents rush from the press

gallery to the telegraph wires; and the cloakrooms are again filled with Senators who do not need to be on the floor now that Borah has ceased to speak and there is nothing to interest them.

If to be able to kill your adversary is proof that you are a great debater, the ability to kill him and yet have him keep on liking you is certainly proof that you are a supreme debater. Borah is. Covered with the blood of his colleagues, he yet, instead of having no friends among them, has virtually no enemies.



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HON. WILLIAM E. BORAH

(Chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations)

Career as a Debater

Borah began debating in a building called "Tom's Prairie Schoolhouse." It was in Southern Illinois. Borah then was a little boy. He lived on a farm.

His mother's family was of Irish descent. His father's family was of German descent. His father's family came to this country before the Revolutionary War. His father was a Kentuckian.

Borah went to "Tom's Prairie Schoolhouse" and debated there. Then he went to the Southern Illinois Academy of the Presbyterian Church and debated there. Then he went to Kansas and entered the University of Kansas and joined the debating society there and debated.

Then he was admitted to the bar and thus embraced a continued opportunity for talking and debating.

Then he started for Seattle but came to the end of his financial resources at Boise in Idaho and so settled down in Boise and began to practice that branch of the law which gives a lawyer the largest opportunity of all for talking and debating—namely, the criminal branch.

Borah debated on behalf of accused persons before juries for quite a while. He meanwhile continued, as he continues now, to read general literature.

He tries every evening to spend at least half an hour with some book outside the field of politics and government.

His tastes in literature, as in politics and government, are really very far from modernistic, or, at least, are far indeed from having any futuristic quality.

If he had to choose two general works of literature with which to repair to a desert island, he would make the firm old-fashioned choice of going with Shakespeare and the Bible.

If he had to add to them a work from the field of politics and government, he would choose the writings of Edmund Burke, who now has been dead one hundred and twenty-seven years.

Borah does not, however, think that Burke was the greatest debater that ever lived. He gives that title to Charles James Fox.

"The greatest single debating effort in the whole history of debate," says Borah, "was the speech by Charles James Fox in reply to William Pitt on the subject of the war with France on the evening of February 3, 1800."

Having cultivated his debating powers for some time as a criminal lawyer in Idaho, Borah abandoned the practice of criminal law and began to acquire clients among banks and among corporations in general.

He departed from this second form of practice only to appear upon the side of the state and against the accused persons in a few distinguished cases such as the one in which the leaders of the Western Federation of Miners were tried for the assassination of ex-Governor Steunenberg.

Clarence Darrow, who defended those leaders in that case, has often spoken to this writer of the fairness—both of method and of manner—with which Borah conducted the prosecution.

Borah's fairness in debate is this: he strives to kill by dialectics, not by personalities.

He did as much as any Senator to kill the League of Nations in the Senate, but he uttered not one word of personal attack upon Woodrow Wilson.

Without Partners

He was elected to the United States Senate before having held any other office. As a public man, he has never been anything but a United States Senator.

He arrived in the Senate in 1907. The Senate was then commanded by the Republican Old Guard and the Republican Old Guard was commanded by Senator Aldrich of Rhode Island. Aldrich saw to it that Borah got good committee assignments.

"Why?" said some alarmed members of the Old Guard to Aldrich.

"I've looked him up," said Aldrich, knowingly. "He is attorney for a lot of corporations."

Presently, nevertheless, Borah was promoting a law for restricting all work on all governmental enterprises to eight hours a day per worker, and he was also promoting a tariff bill amendment for an income tax.

Aldrich wrote to friends in New York and told them to write to Borah's clients in Idaho and have them pull him off. The clients wrote back and said that unfortunately Borah had left behind him all private practice of law when he became a public man and a United States Senator, and that he was no longer in their employ. One of them added: "I want you to understand clearly that in any case I have no

influence with Senator Borah; and, if you discover anybody in Idaho who has, I would be grateful to you if you would send me his name."

Borah in the practice of law in Idaho had no partner. He practiced law by himself. In the Senate he has had no partner. He practices legislation, politics, statesmanship, by himself.

Anti-Centralistic and Anti-Bureaucratic

He is sometimes on what is called the progressive side. He is sometimes on what is called the conservative side.

If progressivism is what most people who call themselves progressives say and think it is, then, on the whole, in this writer's judgment, Borah is a conservative.

He starts with a deep reverence for the Constitution. To him the Constitution is not a senile document needing rejuvenation by modernistic political gland doctors. He is opposed to the summoning of any new Constitutional Convention at this time. He over and over again has told this writer that the geniuses who made our present Constitution in 1787 were much more competent to make a constitution than any geniuses that we could assemble out of our present population would be to make a new constitution now.

Borah approaches constitutional amendments with reluctance. Three times during his service as United States Senator he has overcome that reluctance. Twice he has been governed by it.

He voted for the constitutional amendment (the Sixteenth) granting to Federal Government the power to levy an income tax. This simply provided the Federal Government with a new source of revenue and did not interfere with local self-government within the States.

Borah voted also for the constitutional amendment (the Seventeenth) establishing direct popular election for United States Senators. In fact, he convoyed this amendment through the Senate. He was in charge of it. He did not see in it any invasion of State rights. The Federal Government, he maintained, has a natural, full, proper power to prescribe the methods for the electing of its own legislative officers.

Reluctantly he voted for the constitutional amendment (the Eighteenth) abolishing alcoholic beverages nationally. He did so on the ground that a majority of the States wished to be dry but were frustrated

in this local legislative determination of theirs by imports of liquor from other States in interstate commerce over which the Federal Government alone could exercise effective control.

These three votes concluded Borah's favorable period toward constitutional amendments.

When the woman suffrage amendment (the Nineteenth) came up, Borah voted against it. He also voted against the anti-child-labor amendment, the proposed Twentieth.

He maintained that each State is abundantly able to enforce its own will regarding woman suffrage and its own will regarding child labor within its own borders without any Federal help. He maintained further that voting conditions and laboring conditions are more properly to be settled by local action than by national action.

Borah invariably, if it is feasible, prefers local government to centralization. He invariably, if it is feasible, prefers private initiative to any governmental action whatsoever. He is anti-centralistic. He is anti-bureaucratic.

A Crusader for Economy

Such sentiments, such preferences, align him often with the so-called reactionaries. He gets aligned with them often again by his passion for the reduction of governmental expenditures.

He decidedly antedates Calvin Coolidge in the crusade for economy at Washington. Barely had the armistice with the Germans been signed when Borah made in the Senate a speech that was the historic opening gun in the warfare upon swollen appropriation bills.

He joined himself thereafter to that minority of Senators that voted against the bonus for ex-soldiers.

He was one of just three Senators to vote against the recent postal pay increase bill in the last session. The others were Willis and Fess.

Willis and Fess are reckoned commonly now as conservatives. The only help they got in resisting the postal pay increase was from Borah, who is widely (though ludicrously) ranked as a radical.

A Pro-Labor Senator

Revering the Constitution, reluctant to amend it, devoted to local self-government, devoted to federal economy both of effort

and of money, Borah might indeed seem to be scantily deserving of his radical reputation.

That reputation was really born in his friendship toward labor.

He initiated the Senate Resolution which produced the first great federal inquiry into the twelve-hour day and seven-day week in the iron-and-steel industry. Senators Penrose and Oliver of Pennsylvania vigorously resisted the resolution. Borah pushed it triumphantly to passage.

Borah also was the author (in spite of his normal anti-bureaucratic tendencies) of the law establishing a separate Department of Labor and putting a Secretary of Labor into the Cabinet.

Borah further is favorably disposed toward labor organizations, and those organizations have generally had the utmost confidence in him as Chairman of the Senate Committee on Education and Labor.

Borah's view of labor, however, is millions of miles from any European socialistic view of it. His view is a completely old-fashioned American constitutional view. The right to speak freely, the right to assemble freely, the right to organize freely; those rights, like all other constitutional rights, find in Borah a ceaselessly vigilant defender; and the point is simply that he defends them even when they are exercised by labor and even when they lead to the appearance of powerful labor organizations.

Some people are pro-labor and therefore against the Constitution. Borah is for the Constitution and for the Bill of Rights and therefore—precisely therefore—a champion of labor's lawful assertion of its own constitutional free will.

Against Intervention in Foreign Politics

Similarly old-fashioned impulses have led Borah to those international policies and achievements of his which have given him his principal place in American history. Now that he is Chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations there is importance in an impartial review of those achievements and in an informed forecast of the directions in which those policies of his will take him.

Borah is often called an isolationist. He does not seem to himself to deserve that appellation.

However, if George Washington and John Adams and Thomas Jefferson and

James Madison and James Monroe and John Quincy Adams were isolationists because of not wanting to enter the internal political affairs of Europe and because of not wanting to intervene in the domestic issues of any foreign country, then Borah is an isolationist inflexibly. He is not on that point subject to any change whatsoever.

Borah is as traditional in his view of foreign affairs as in his views of the Constitution, of State rights, of local self-government, and of labor. He is on what he believes to be the side of the founding fathers and no pressure will ever drive him from that side.

He regarded the League of Nations as an institution through which there would be universal international political meddlesomeness tending much more toward war than toward peace. He accordingly, having this view, was bound to oppose the League and did oppose it and will oppose it.

He will even more energetically oppose the new League Protocol recently passed by the League Assembly at Geneva. He regards that Protocol not as an advance toward peace but as an advance toward bringing it about that every dispute coming to a trial of arms between any two countries shall be transformed into a world war between all countries never to be ended till a few diplomats, sitting as members of the Council of the League of Nations, shall declare themselves satisfied to have it cease.

Borah will continue to fight the League; and he will fight the League Protocol; and, unless the Permanent Court of International Justice can be totally divorced from the League, he will fight the Permanent Court of International Justice.

That is one direction in which his policies will take him. There is also, however, another direction in which they will equally take him.

A Promoter of International Conferences

While opposing the present League and all its works, he will vigorously defend and vigorously promote the idea of international conference for purposes not involving what he regards as political meddlesomeness and entanglement.

He was the author of the Senate Resolution which necessitated the Washington Conference for the Limitation of Armaments under President Harding. President Harding resisted the resolution. He did his

very best to defeat it. He summoned Senators to the White House and roused them against it. He told visitors that never would the United States consent to a conference for the limitation of armaments until the United States had completed its 1916 naval building program. Senator Lodge of Massachusetts called the suggested conference "Borah's dream."

Borah continued to dream it and to demand it in speeches in which he won a continuous series of forensic victories. One by one he exterminated his adversaries, and little by little he converted the Senate. His resolution was passed. Public opinion rose up in a flood with it and swept it into acceptance and into action in the White House. The conference was held.

That Borah must be regarded not only as the initiator but as the compeller of it is indubitable historical fact.

He will continue to press for further conferences for further limitations of armaments.

Also, for a long time now he has advocated an international conference between the United States and European powers for the discussion of the international economic difficulties which he thinks are retarding the restoration of the world to full prosperity and to full international good-will.

The Harding Administration outwitted him on this point by having Administration Senators stand up on the floor of the Senate and say that the Administration had already put out feelers of its own toward the calling of the sort of conference in question. Borah thereupon withdrew from pressing his senatorial demand for it.

The conference never happened.

Borah will resume and continue pressing his demand for it now as leader of the Republican party's discussions of international affairs in the Senate.

He also will advocate declarations and treaties relegating all war to the category of a crime and binding all countries to carry all their disputes to the arbitrament of an international judicial body not in any way connected with any political body like the League of Nations.

His Creed in Foreign Relations

The sum of Borah's foreign policies is this:

He disbelieves in international political bodies like the League and in international political alliances like the one established

(as he thinks) in the Four-Power Treaty between this country and Britain and France and Japan. He believes in an international judicial body, and he believes in international conferences for the handling of specific international problems without ensuing political or military involvements.

His prodigious prowess as a debater means that these ideas will have a large and an increasing vogue in the Senate.

His habit of having no political partners and of promoting his ideas all by himself in single combat means that no influences will swerve him from his outlined course.

His smile, his buoyant and boyish enjoyment of the test of his mental muscles against the muscles of others, his helmet of hair, the shaggy ferocity of his eyebrows, the deep line that rounds itself horizontally under his lower lip, the still deeper line that shows itself perpendicularly in his chunky chin, his suave gestures, his honeyed and enticing phrases, his sudden stabs to the vitals of his victims, his dancing eyes, his persistence, his politeness, his pugnacity, his appalling persuasiveness, all mean that this matador of the American senatorial forum is bound to be a considerable part of the world's international history during the next few years in direct line from the days when he started debating in "Tom's Prairie Schoolhouse."

A Friend of the New Secretary of State

As a pendant, the fact may be added that in the new Secretary of State—Mr. Kellogg—Senator Borah will have an old senatorial colleague with whom he is personally very much better acquainted than he ever has been with the present Secretary of State, Mr. Hughes. Mr. Kellogg, it is true, was a firm pro-League in the Senate; and Senator Borah on that point was of course in diametrical disagreement with him.

There is a surmise that possibly—just possibly—on one certain point of large importance there may be a greater harmony of views between Senator Borah and Mr. Kellogg than there apparently has been between Senator Borah and Mr. Hughes.

Mr. Hughes has recoiled from the idea of an international economic conference with the great European powers. He has wished no pooled discussion of their debts to us. Mr. Kellogg in the Senate showed himself extremely favorable to international discussions of almost everything.

DEBTS AND EVACUATION

BY FRANK H. SIMONDS

I. THE ISSUE

THE past month has been marked by two debates of great and continuing importance. The first concerned the Franco-American financial relations growing out of the war-time loans, and the second resulted from the decisions of the Allies to remain in the Cologne bridgehead beyond the date of January 10, when evacuation would have taken place under the Treaty of Versailles, provided Germany had carried out the treaty faithfully. These circumstances, together with the Anglo-French conference in Paris, over the interallied debts and the Italian crisis, I shall discuss chiefly in the present article.

Last month I considered the Franco-American debt discussion which had been opened by M. Jusserand. The occasion was largely personal. After a long, distinguished, and useful career here the French Ambassador was returning home; and, largely on his own initiative, although with the consent of his Government, he undertook some more or less official talks with our Government about the French debt, the single unsettled detail which remained between the two countries.

The discussions did not get very far, because they had an unforeseen consequence. The British, who were also creditors of the French, perceiving that something was going on as to the Franco-American financial situation, promptly interposed the statement that France must be prepared to pay Britain *pari passu* with America. The British explosion, culminating in Winston Churchill's notable speech to the House of Commons, which I discussed last month, had as a consequence the termination of the Washington "conversations."

But our Administration and Congress did not desire such an abrupt termination. Moreover, since the extension of the life of the Debt Commission was a matter before Congress, there was further reason for some talk. Two circumstances served to provoke the desired end. First, M. Jusserand him-

self, speaking before the celebrated Current Events Club of Miss Janet Richards in Washington, advanced the proposal—which he had previously presented to Secretary Mellon—that France needed a moratorium before beginning any payment.

This led to much unwarranted criticism of the French Ambassador and to the suggestion that his comment had been taken amiss by the White House itself, a statement later officially denied. Meantime M. Clementel, the French Minister of Finance, presented his annual budget. This budget did not contain any listing of the French debt to the United States as a liability. The omission, which was subsequently officially explained as no more than the normal course of excluding unfunded and unfixed obligations, evoked comment among the American newspaper correspondents in their despatches to this country from Paris, and was made the basis for an intimation that it was tantamount to a repudiation.

This assumption was plainly not warranted, for in the same fashion M. Clementel omitted to mention debts owing France, which were by no means canceled thereby. But in the general nervousness which had resulted from the development of the situation, Washington took alarm, and the official view was stated with a frankness which was unmistakable in an editorial in the *Washington Post*, written by the editor, Colonel George Harvey. In substance France was warned of American dissatisfaction and told inferentially that attempted repudiation might involve the closing of the American market to new French loans—a warning particularly pertinent in view of the fact that a considerable loan had just been placed.

Finally, in the Senate, David Reed of Pennsylvania, the most conspicuous friend of France in Congress, and a veteran of the World War, made a long, restrained, but no less solemn declaration, setting forth the American determination not to cancel the debt nor patiently to endure any attempted repudiation. In reality the speech was lit-

tle more than an appeal by a friend of France—speaking, however, as the mouth-piece of the American Government, and expressing official and unofficial American opinion on the subject.

Paris, meantime, became vocal, and M. Clementel, in very complete fashion, denied for his government and his country any purpose to seek to repudiate or attempt to evade. There was a definite restatement of the French obligation. But at the same time there were restatements of the French views as to present capacity and ultimate capacity; and there was unofficial repetition of the familiar arguments for a scaling down of the debt, or for some form of pooling of all the war debts which would arrive at the same end.

Reports came presently from Paris of a French proposal, which would have a more or less definite character. While carrying a moratorium proviso for a series of years, perhaps for a period of ten years, the new proposal would include some provision for the beginning of payments at the end of that time. This rumor was joyfully hailed in Washington, where there had been official indications, both in Senator Reed's speech and elsewhere, that there was a willingness to concede a moratorium and to allow more liberal terms than were granted Britain.

Moreover, London, while maintaining its position that French payments to the United States must be paralleled by similar payments to Britain, indicated that it would not seek to make an issue if the French payments were fixed on easier terms than those of Britain under the Baldwin agreement. The British, in a word, while insisting they should be paid as we were, showed an inclination to recognize that there was justice in basing the scale of payments upon French capacity rather than upon the terms of the Baldwin settlement.

But the reports of a definite proposal were presently denied and the fact soon appeared that M. Clementel had done no more than give to our Ambassador, Mr. Herrick, an unofficial and quite personal statement of the view of the French people with respect of the debt and of the payment thereof. Thus Washington had a rather bitter disappointment, after having confidently expected concrete results.

So much for the actual circumstances of the debate, which is not terminated as I write these lines, and which seems likely to continue for some time. But, laying aside

further discussion of the actual events, I desire briefly to review the situation as it exists—that is, the general situation of the so-called Allied debts to us, the debts of France, Italy, and Belgium. Although the recent discussion was between France and America, there are outstanding Italian and Belgian debts to us, which in the aggregate amount to a sum equal to that of the French debt, including certain other smaller obligations by other continental states. All these other debts may stand or fall upon the decision in the French case.

II. THE FACTS

In the first place, when treating of the whole question of the French debt to America, it is essential to examine the facts. It is necessary to bear in mind, too, as I have said, that what is true of the French case is also true of the Belgians and Italians, who together owe us about as much as France. The Italian share is above \$3,000,000,000 and the Belgian materially under \$1,000,000,000.

France borrowed from us to the amount of about \$3,250,000,000, and the unpaid interest on that loan now amounts to approximately \$750,000,000. The total debt, then, on which payment is asked, stands at just about \$4,000,000,000. This loan, it must also be recalled, did not represent the transfer of money. In the main, France bought goods in the United States—food, clothing, explosives—and we advanced the money out of the Treasury to pay those who provided the materials.

In the examination of the whole affair, one must at once establish certain circumstances: First of all, there is no disposition or intention on the part of the United States to cancel all or any part of the principal of the debt, including the accumulated interest. Secondly, there is no disposition to consider scaling the debt down, aside from such reduction as might be made in ordinary business life, where it was established that a debtor could not pay. The American policy, as determined in Washington and expressed recently by various spokesmen of the Administration, is that the French debt is an ordinary debt, subject to all customary circumstances, and that the single discussion which can take place is as to the present and prospective ability of France to pay.

What our Government is seeking to

establish is a state of facts: When can France begin to pay, how soon can she pay something, how soon more, how can the whole debt be put upon a funded basis which will insure that in a period of years we shall get back both principal and interest?

The United States has no desire to be a harsh creditor or to demand the impossible. That goes without saying. It has indicated its willingness to grant a moratorium to be made upon the basis of French conditions. It assumes that France cannot at the moment pay anything considerable, that it may still be several years before any payments can begin. But it desires that the whole affair be now taken up and disposed of on the basis of a present moratorium and a future scale of payments.

Now, what is the French position? France does not in fact, although it has never actually made the assertion, accept the American view that the total of the debt is inviolable. On the contrary, it demands, without yet making the demand official, that there be a scaling down of the debt and a cancellation of the accumulated interest to date. Thus the American and French positions are in direct opposition at the outset.

The French base their demand for reduction upon the fact that there has been a notable reduction of the German reparation figures. Under the London Ultimatum of 1921, Germany was called upon the pay on a capital sum of \$33,000,000,000. That represented the Reparation Commission's decision of what Germany could properly be held accountable for. Moreover, of this sum, the French share was fixed by the Spa agreement at 52 per cent., or more than \$17,000,000,000.

But the Dawes Commission, which had American membership and American inspiration, swept away all the provisions of the London Agreement and fixed the sum of German payments at an annual figure of a little more than \$600,000,000, a sum which would—if continued over 30 years—have a present capital value of around \$10,000,000,000. Thus the Dawes Commission reduced German obligations by two-thirds.

On this basis the French ask that the claims against them should be similarly scaled down. Instead of getting \$17,000,000,000 from Germany, France is to get less than \$6,000,000,000, as a maximum. But at the same time there has been no corresponding reduction of the \$7,500,000,000

which France is held to pay the United States and Great Britain for war loans.

Citing the principles of the Dawes Plan then, France demands a reduction of what she owes in order to balance the reduction which has taken place in what she is owed. This is the point of departure of the French case—or, rather, it is the second point. The first point, namely the present inability of France to pay anything, is conceded in Washington, although there is no acceptance of any French view as to the length of time this inability will continue.

In the third place, the French again turn to the Dawes Plan and point out that what they get from Germany will be dependent upon how the plan works out. No one can say now how much Germany will actually pay, because the Dawes Plan, while fixing a maximum, did not fix a minimum. It provided, in effect, that Germany should pay up to \$600,000,000 a year, if she could. But it expressly provided that if at any time payments disturb the rate of German exchange, then they must be suspended.

Thus the whole Dawes Plan is not a settlement but an experiment. It supplies a method by which payments may be made up to a certain amount if possible. But no one knows how much will be paid; and German, French, British, and American economists and experts of standing are on record as believing that what Germany does pay will not be \$600,000,000 a year and perhaps not half of it.

But the fundamental principle of the Dawes Plan was that payments should be based, not upon obligations, not upon the sum of the debt, but upon the capacity of the debtor. Now French capacity, say the French, should in the same way be the basis of French payments without regard to the size of the debt. But one of the considerable elements in French capacity must be the size of German payments. France's share will exceed \$300,000,000 annually if Germany pays the maximum under the Dawes Plan. In that case France could pay America and Britain in full. But it is going to be years before anyone can know what Germany will pay.

Therefore the French say that it is useless to undertake now to fix a sum for their payments. Only the future can determine what exactly or even approximately will be French capacity, depending as it does upon the extent of Germany's performance under the Dawes Plan.

I am excluding from the count any of the French arguments based upon sentiment, upon war-time emotions, or upon war-time circumstances. These do cut a considerable figure in the Frenchman's point of view, but they do not affect the official American standpoint and therefore will not enter into any debate between negotiators.

When these sentimental circumstances have been eliminated—and such elimination terminates all question of pooling of war debts and the like—we come down to the bottom of the matter in the three French contentions: First, that France can pay nothing now, which our people are inclined to concede. Second, that since German payments have been reduced two-thirds by the Dawes Plan, thus reducing French receipts therefrom proportionately, French debts should be scaled down *pari passu*. Finally, that the Dawes Plan took capacity as its point of departure; and French capacity depends upon a variable which cannot be determined now, since no one knows what the Dawes Plan will yield.

France actually says, in response to urgent appeals for a settlement, that she can pay nothing now, that her debts should be scaled down, and that she cannot undertake to say how much she will pay in the future because no one knows now how much she will get from reparations when the Dawes Plan is at last working.

So far, France has not raised a new precedent of the Dawes Plan, but it is certain that she will. The salient detail of the Dawes Plan was the provision that German payments should take the form of deposits in German banks, and thus in the shape of German money or credits. Great Britain is paying us in our own coin or bonds in New York. But Germany is to pay in her own money at home, and it is the problem of her creditors to get the value of her payments across frontiers without disturbing German exchange. Thus these creditors will have to take some of the payment in goods and invest the remainder in German enterprise.

Nothing is more logical than for the French to propose a similar solution. They will propose to deposit sums in French currency in the Bank of France, and the British and Americans can take it as they choose—in goods, French securities, etc.—always provided the transfer does not disturb French exchange. They will, moreover fortify their argument on this point by the fact that what they got from us was mainly

goods, not money, supplies, and not cash.

It must be apparent from this brief summary how many obstacles lie in the way of a settlement. Moreover, I must emphasize again the fact that the mass of the French people do not believe that the debt constitutes a moral obligation. They believe that they paid the debt in blood and treasure during the war, and that now the United States and Great Britain are trying to make them pay again by virtue of the existence of notes signed in their hour of peril.

I do not suggest this is a valid contention. I do not suggest that it deserves consideration, even. But I am dealing with facts, and this is a fact which is going to make the French Government excessively shy in committing itself to any definite plan of refunding the debt. What the French people as a mass expect of their Government is to get a vast reduction of the debt, if not an actual cancellation; and any ministry which failed to do this, in making a settlement, would, in the present temper of the French people, have a short shrift.

Some of my readers will doubtless ask the natural question as to why Britain has not similarly raised the precedent of the Dawes Plan? There is the double reason that the Baldwin settlement antedated the Dawes Plan and also that the question of British capacity could not be raised. It was easily demonstrable that Britain was able to pay what she owed out of her returns from her foreign investments alone, returns which would otherwise be added to her capital.

But Great Britain and the United States, being the only considerable countries which at the close of the war—or thereafter to date—could balance their budgets and were seized with a surplus of income over expenditure, accepted for Germany the principle that payment must be based upon capacity without regard to the size of obligations. Therefore they both have now to give due consideration to this principle in dealing with France, Belgium, and Italy.

All of which is perfectly clear to our Treasury Department, which finds itself in an awkward position largely because the French not only do not pay but give no definite statement of the conditions which make payment impossible now and no reason which can be made clear to the American people why the date and scale of future payments is to-day indeterminable.

At bottom the present trouble arises from the totally different conception of the two

peoples: The French do not regard the debt as one that they ought to be made to pay, and believe that this view will presently be accepted by Americans. Our people regard the debt as completely binding, and are totally unwilling to discuss the matter save in terms of ordinary business. They appreciate the fact that a debtor may not be able to pay at any given time, but they insist that he shall pay when he can and acknowledge, once and for all, that he is bound to pay.

On the official side the action of our Government now, and the expressions of opinion in Congress and in inspired articles in the press, are to be explained not as the indication of any expectation of getting money now, not perhaps of any real hope of getting a contract covering the future, but as the outcome of a conviction that M. Clem-entel's treatment of the question in his budget was a clear indication of a purpose to establish some first step in evasion if not of repudiation.

What Washington sought to do by raising the issue was to keep the validity of our claims uncompromised and to convey again to the Government and people of France the fact that the debt was something that must be paid ultimately and that American patience must not be interpreted as giving even tacit consent to any policy of repudiation or of permanent evasion.

France has had a moratorium of five years, already. This is bound to continue for a further period of years, during which it may be impossible to get any definite agreement as to fixed payment at its close. But what is now the issue between the governments is the question of the obligation; and Washington's various moves have all been directed at obtaining from France an unequivocal acceptance of that obligation.

III. RUHR EVACUATION

Great bitterness has been caused in Germany and equal uneasiness all over the world by the fact that the whole question of the Rhine has been once more raised during the current month. Under the Treaty of Versailles it was provided that Allied troops should occupy the left bank of the Rhine and certain bridgeheads—notably Kehl, Mayence, Coblenz, and Cologne—during a period of years. Evacuation was to take place in three separate phases, all contingent upon German performance under the treaty.

Thus, had Germany performed, the first phase of the evacuation would have been begun on January 10 and would have affected the Cologne area, where the British are supplying the occupying force.

But the Germans were in advance of that date declared to be guilty of gross violations of the disarmament provisions of the treaty, by a united report of all the Allied experts. Therefore the Allies unanimously voted not to evacuate on January 10 and served a note upon the German Government announcing this decision. They cited, among other things, the illegal course of the Germans in reconstructing their Great General Staff, together with many other acts which amounted to training recruits in excess of treaty provisions.

As to the legality of the Allied action, there seems little basis for protest, although it is challenged by the Germans. That there has been evasion, and that there remains in many quarters in Germany a purpose to evade the disarmament provisions and restore Germany to a state of military strength, goes without saying. I doubt if any German Government, however sincere in its efforts, could completely enforce the disarmament provisions of the treaty, for the same reason our Government cannot enforce the Prohibition laws—namely, that at least in certain areas public sentiment would oppose, not support, the Government.

Germany at the present moment is probably as nearly completely disarmed as she will ever be. At all events, despite unmistakable violations, she is to-day totally incapable of any military aggression against France. That she can permanently be kept in such a state is unlikely, because it would involve constant supervision and recurrent coercion. Sooner or later, unless all historical precedents fail, Germany is going to be master in her own house again, and then she will do as she pleases. Similar obligations imposed upon France and upon Prussia, after military defeats, have always had the same end.

But as to the present episode, there are two circumstances needing emphasis. In the first place, while the French have agreed to evacuate the Ruhr and are proceeding with the operation which must end by next autumn, they are not yet out, and under their agreement at London may stay for some months to come. As long as they stay, moreover, evacuation of the Cologne area would turn over to the Germans the rail-

ways and highways by which the occupying garrisons in the Ruhr are supplied.

Such being the case, if the British should decide to evacuate Cologne, the result would be that the French would take over the Cologne bridgehead as they did the Coblenz bridgehead when our troops went home. But this is an event the British desire to avoid, for they have no desire to see French troops in complete control of the left bank of the Rhine from Alsace to Holland. Britain would like to see the evacuation of the Cologne area accomplished, but only as a complete evacuation.

Back of all else lies the fundamental issue of French security. At Paris, when the peace treaty was made, France advanced the claim to occupy the left bank of the Rhine, not to annex any part of the German area between the French frontiers and the Rhine—aside from the insignificant Saar Basin—but to garrison the Rhine barrier with her troops as a guarantee against a new German attack like that of 1914.

Great Britain and the United States—that is, Lloyd George and Mr. Wilson—opposed this demand made by Clemenceau and ultimately offered in exchange for a surrender of this French claim the famous Anglo-American guarantee of French security. Clemenceau accepted this, but the United States Senate never ratified it and in due course of time it lapsed. France was left in the position of having surrendered her claim but of having been abandoned thereafter by her allies, so far as *quid pro quo* was concerned.

From that moment on there has been a never-ending discussion of the question of French security. Several proposed Anglo-French agreements have been drafted but none signed or ratified. Then the League of Nations has been made the basis for two other security pacts, the Cecil agreement of two years ago and the protocol which was adopted at Geneva last fall. But the British have rejected the former and show no intention of accepting the latter.

Thus it is that when one comes to the point of actual evacuation of a portion of the Rhine barrier, the French are still without that guarantee which was promised them provided they would evacuate. If they go now without it, if they consent to the surrender of a part of the Rhine line, then they may never get it. Accordingly, their policy would obviously be not to agree to evacuation in advance of assurance.

The fact that the Germans have undeniably evaded the disarmament provisions of the Treaty of Versailles only serves as a legitimate cover for a much more definite determination. Unless all signs fail France has in reality reached the decision not to consent to a beginning of the real evacuation of the Rhine—not the Ruhr, it must be understood, where she is withdrawing, until she gets her guarantee from Great Britain, that is, until Britain completes her part of the bargain made between Clemenceau, Lloyd George, and Wilson, it being understood America never will take up the Wilson obligation.

Now the British are in a difficult situation. They do not wish to give the French a definite guarantee. Above all, they do not want to commit themselves to a guarantee of French policies as well as French frontiers. They do not want to undertake a guarantee of France which would also constitute a guarantee of the frontiers of France's allies, Poland and Czechoslovakia. Nor do they want France to stay on the Rhine and take over their Cologne sector.

But the single escape from this dilemma is to stay on the Rhine and in Cologne, themselves, assigning as the reason their view that Germany has violated the treaty provisions. This is perhaps conceivable as a makeshift, as a temporary measure, but the fact is unmistakable that in the end there must be some sort of agreement between the British and French and probably some sort of guarantee of French security by Britain. France has, in reality, served notice that she will not quit the Rhine until her security is assured.

The Germans have made a terrible fuss about the matter, but they are quite anxious, if the evacuation is not to take place, that the British and not the French shall hold Cologne. But in their own domestic political turmoil the issue has been seized upon by the Nationalists and has contributed to increase the difficulties of forming a cabinet and led to many accusations that the British and French are scrapping the Dawes Plan.

All this, of course, is nonsense. German economic life is not affected materially by a prolongation of the Cologne occupation. On the other hand, the occupation ought to come to an end. The failure of the Allies to quit is a distinct check to the mental if not the material recovery of Europe.

Until the French are out of the Ruhr there can be no practical question of restoring Cologne to German control, because of the problem of communications, therefore the real issue is not raised at the moment. It would be different if the evacuation of the Ruhr were not promptly followed by that of Cologne. Therefore negotiations must settle the case between France and Britain within the next six months and must in all probability lead to some sort of a pact of defense of France by Britain.

IV. MUSSOLINI FIGHTS BACK

Perhaps the most dramatic single incident of the month has been the arrival of a new crisis in Italy. For many months it has been apparent that Mussolini's situation has been worsening, or, to put it most conservatively, that the opposition to the Fascisti leader has been regaining courage and coming out into the open once more. The politicians and a portion of the press have been actively challenging his position.

The whole Italian situation, and indeed the Fascisti movement itself, remains incomprehensible in an extraordinary degree, not alone to ourselves but to the British and even to the French. It is the outgrowth of conditions and traditions which are quite foreign to our own. Yet, perhaps oddly, there has been a considerable sympathy with the movement in America.

To get even a summary notion of the present situation it is essential to appreciate certain facts. Fascismo was in a real sense a national movement coming from the people, directed against incompetent rulers and against a futile political system, and provoked alike by a sense of national peril and of national humiliation.

Of the great powers which constituted the alliance against Germany, Italy at the close of the war found herself with the smallest chance of obtaining any of the fruits of victory. France recovered Alsace-Lorraine, with its rich iron and potash deposits and its considerable agricultural value, and at the same time extended her frontiers in Africa and seated herself anew in Asia, in Syria. Great Britain disposed of a commercial rival and also extended her frontiers in Asia and Africa. But Italy's gain was restricted to strategically valuable, yet economically unprofitable, strips in the north while encountering the solid opposition of the Slavs in the east.

Having lost many lives and had a large and fertile area occupied by the enemy, Italy not only saw the maximum of possible gain to be small, but in addition found herself opposed by Mr. Wilson—with the tacit support of Lloyd George and Clemenceau—along the Adriatic shore from Trieste to Fiume. The war which had abolished the Austrian enemy had thus permitted the rise of a new and menacing Slav nation across the narrow Adriatic, a state which was presently to become a detail in the French system of European alliances. In Europe and also in Asia, Italian aspirations were countered by Italy's allies. Unlike France, she could have no considerable claim upon German reparations.

Thus from the Paris Conference, which Italian delegates once quit in anger, Italy had a sense of injustice and wrong, of being treated with scant respect or consideration by foreign countries. In addition, her home situation continued to arouse apprehension. A form of extreme radicalism—which had its inspiration, if not its origin, in Moscow—swept over the country. An impotent ministry sat supinely by while mobs occupied factories and took over industries. Inefficiency, and worse, paralyzed Italian life and wrecked Italian business.

Fascismo was just as distinctly a national protest and revolt against this situation as was the *risorgimento* of the previous century. It was the expression of a determination of a people, feeling itself greater than its rulers to save itself in spite of these rulers. Moreover, in its earlier stages it cannot be denied that the upheaval did result in the elimination of immediate dangers and the striking improvement of economic conditions. A dictatorship worked, as a dictatorship usually works when it represents alike strength and a measure of intelligent appreciation of needs.

But the weakness of a dictatorship is always unmistakable. Its very success is its undoing. It sweeps away the perils which led to its own existence and thereafter the mass of people begin to weary of the severity of the system and to long for the other days of easier and less onerous control. Mussolini, if you please, had saved Italy; but, being saved, Italy felt a lessening need for Mussolini.

This national sense of unrest was stimulated by the actions and manners of one section of the Fascisti. The great task of national reordering being accomplished, or

at least well begun, the strategy of the dictator was obviously to translate his dictatorship back to the ordinary political forms. He had to establish his revolution constitutionally, to continue on a democratic basis what had been the result of a national explosion.

But, difficult in any event, this task was made almost impossible by the character and temper of many of Mussolini's followers. They had employed the strong arm, marching under the Mussolini banner. They had seen victory result. And they were in no mood now to surrender their power and to see their influence supplanted by the attacks of men whose methods they despised and whose attacks they believed could only be met by counter-violence. Thus, while Mussolini was seeking in some fashion to take violence out of his dictatorship, he was constantly hampered by his lieutenants who were unwilling to change the method.

This situation culminated in the murder of an Italian Deputy of prominence, Matteoti, by the Fascisti lieutenants of Mussolini. The dictator has pretty clearly demonstrated that he was ignorant of the crime, that so far from inspiring it he had every reason to oppose it. But the fact remained that his subordinates had been guilty and that he was confronted with a fatal dilemma. He had either to consent to the punishment of the guilty, who were his own, thus breaking with a portion of his own organization, or to condone the crime and thus shock public opinion.

Mussolini chose the latter course. He continued to seek to find a constitutional base of his dictatorship, but the Matteoti crime had, in reality, compromised his situation. It had proved the signal for a return to the opposition of all the old-time politicians who had been driven into exile and silence by the arrival of the Fascisti forces in Rome. Little by little Mussolini was driven back to the position in which only violence could save him. His experiment in becoming constitutional had failed.

We had, then, in the first week in January, the amazing outburst of Mussolini in Parliament, his sudden throwing off of all the garments of constitutionalism, and his return to the earlier method of violence which had been the first and successful phase of Fascismo. Once more he appealed to the fighting enthusiasm of his followers, and strove to revive the fire of patriotic

passion which had made possible the original triumph.

Following this Mussolini speech came the resignation of all the non-Fascisti members of the Cabinet, and the passing into the opposition of Salandra. This put three ex-premiers in the opposition group—Giolitti, Orlando, and Salandra—with Nitti, a fourth, opposed but out of public life.

Thus, driven to strike, Mussolini struck hard and it would seem successfully. At the least he rallied the Fascisti, who had begun to drift away from a dictatorship which seemed no longer to dare to dictate. But in doing this he was forced to return to the first position. His movement to "constitutionalize" the revolution had failed, but, on the surface of things at least, it would appear that the revolution itself still retained the support of the mass of the Italian people, albeit with something less of the enthusiasm of the earlier days.

In confronting what must now be a long struggle, Mussolini is in far better posture than the Spanish dictator, for the complete collapse of the Moroccan campaign has no counterpart in recent Italian history. On the whole, Mussolini's foreign policy has been successful and in no direction more than in arriving at a viable settlement with the Jugoslavs, which continues to work and thus to eliminate one of the gravest standing dangers to European peace.

To turn to the Spanish situation for a moment, it is clear that one possibility, henceforth—as, indeed, it has been for a considerable time—is the fall of the dynasty. After a war of some years and the sacrifice of enormous treasure and many lives, the Spanish have been driven back to the seacoast and are again practically besieged in the few positions which they have clung to since the age of Columbus and from which they have from time to time emerged to make unsuccessful efforts to establish a real North African Empire.

Between the dictatorship of Mussolini and that of Primo de Rivera there is little real analogy. The former unquestionably represents a popular movement in its origin, while the latter is quite as evidently the expression of a desperate military element—and perhaps a final effort—to retain its control of Spain, an effort which has involved and possibly compromised the otherwise popular sovereign.

One must, however, even here, note that a new Mediterranean Question is rising.

The new situation involves Italy, Britain, and France among the great powers, together with Spain, and also has its Asiatic and African aspects, due to the ferment among native races which has recently found expression in Egypt. The withdrawal of Spain from the Moroccan hinterland menaces France in her vital communications between Algeria and Morocco, as patently as any disturbance in Egypt imperils Britain's sea communications by the Suez Canal. Thus a common policy is the sole escape from a new rivalry which might prove as disastrous as that difference over Turkey which led directly to the Lausanne Treaty, the most damaging surrender Europe has made to Asia in more than two centuries.

I am loath to close this hasty review of the Italian phase of the Mediterranean situation without pointing out once more that the whole Mussolini episode is one of the most dramatic and perhaps one of the most significant of our post-war period. Whatever has been the mistake of some of the followers of this remarkable man, Mussolini, perhaps of himself, he responded on the instant to the call of a people which felt themselves on the edge of the abyss. It was not his personal ambition which put him in power.

Coming to power, too, at the call of his country, it is plain that he sought first to cure the immediate ills from which it suffered, and then to find a bridge to cross the gulf between a dictatorship and some form of constitutional government. In this latter attempt he has been unsuccessful. Napoleon passed from the Consulate to the Empire. This has been the invariable progression of dictators. But Mussolini did plainly perceive that in our age the progression must be otherwise.

Failing, however, he has been driven back upon the only possible alternative. In the last analysis a dictator must dictate or disappear, and his return to the methods of force have manifestly rallied to him the portion of his following who looked with frank disapproval upon the concessions which he made in the recent past. What remains to be seen is whether his prestige has not been too gravely shaken. To-day, to be sure, Italy has no alternative. There is no other man in sight, certainly no protagonist of the opposition, who seems to possess the capacity to lead or the qualities to enlist a following.

When Mussolini came there can be no mistaking the fact that Italy was in a dangerous crisis. The red flag was abroad, economic order and political system were alike paralyzed. His coming wrought a temporary cure. What remains now the absorbingly interesting problem is whether that cure was more than temporary, and whether the violence which was an inescapable concomitant of Fascismo carried in itself the cause of its own undoing.

V. THE PARIS CONFERENCE

It remains now briefly to discuss the events which marked the recent Paris Conference—events which must be regarded as of minor importance, since the gathering concerned itself with details rather than with any effort to deal with the larger issue of Allied Debts.

For Americans the main question was that concerning our claim of rather more than half a billion dollars, which represented two distinct items; the bill for the expenditures of our army of occupation in the Rhine, amounting in round figures to \$250,000,000, and the claims of American nationals for war-time damages.

A long and tedious legal dispute between the British and the American State Departments had been carried on for some weeks in advance of the Paris meeting, the British conceding the justice of our claim for the costs of the Rhine force but seeming to argue as to the other claims that we lost our standing by making a separate treaty with Germany at the close of hostilities rather than ratifying the Treaty of Versailles.

Long and difficult negotiations between Winston Churchill and Col. James A. Logan, who was the active member of our Paris delegation, led in the end—as was inevitable—to a compromise. Our claims for the Rhine Army, which had been established by the Wadsworth Agreement of three years ago, are to be met by payments out of German reparations covering a number of years and having a measure of priority. For the damage claims we are to take a small percentage of the gross German payments, which would amount to an agreement on our part that we would take our chance with other creditor nations.

This settlement would, it may be guessed, work in this fashion: Out of the annual German payments there would be first taken a sum sufficient to meet certain

preferred claims, of which the costs of the armies of occupation would be, perhaps, the most considerable. In this priority arrangement we should participate for a fixed amount yearly. Then there would remain a certain portion of German payments to be distributed. It would be large or small as the payments were large or small. But it would be divided between the creditor nations on the basis of Spa percentages, France receiving 52 per cent., Britain 22, Italy 10. As for Belgium, she has been receiving 8 per cent.; but having been proportionately more completely paid than the other nations, her share might now be reduced and the reduction in percentage placed to the credit of the United States.

Aside from all details, however, the major consequence of the bargain made at Paris is that we associate ourselves directly with all the other nations who are creditors of Germany. One hundred and fifty years ago we fought our War of Independence on the issue of "No Taxation Without Representation." At Paris, the other day, England faced us, affirming the principle: "No Reparation Without Equal Responsibility."

Europe was willing that we should get the money, but maintained the view that we should take our chance on an equal footing with other nations. Our representatives may well claim the result as a victory since it insures payment to us of a considerable if not a colossal sum. But Europe, on its part, will take real satisfaction in the fact that we have surrendered the position of unofficial observer for that of equal partner. Henceforth, we shall be present whenever the questions of German payments, German default, or coercing Germany come up. In the last analysis, we have at last ratified the Dawes Plan, which was, after all, an American contribution.

Moreover, although the question of inter-allied debts was not touched at Paris, many obstacles were swept away and unmistakably the road is clear now for consideration of this greatest remaining problem of the post-war period. And I am bound to say that I think the agreement at Paris foreshadows the line that later discussions will take, in practice if not in principle. German reparations payments are going to be the basis of the extinction of interallied

debts. If and as Germany pays, France and Belgium will pay England and ourselves; and the harmonious relations among all concerned at the recent conference is an extraordinarily promising sign.

Actually, the making of peace must fall into three phases: the territorial, which was settled at the Paris conference; the reparations, which were dealt with by the Dawes Plan, and by the Spa agreement, covering respective shares, which has now been amended to give America a percentage. These two settlements not only clear the way but measurably foreshadow the method of adjustment of interallied debts.

Meantime repeated failures of Chancellor Marx in Germany to construct a coalition cabinet, based upon the coöperation of the liberal parties—namely, the Socialists, the Democrats, and the Clericals—has led to the collapse of the entire effort and its abandonment. At the moment recourse is being had to a device to construct a non-partisan and neutral cabinet.

It is manifest, then, that the final outcome of the December election has been a deadlock in the German Parliament. The two groups, the Nationalists and the so-called Republicans (that is, the members of the three liberal parties) each lacks a controlling majority, and no cabinet can be formed which could rest on secure partisan foundations. At best a weak, compromising, and impermanent ministry is likely to try to "carry on" until the presidential election later in the year supplies an occasion for a new general election.

It is impossible to escape the conviction that this state of domestic chaos within Germany is disadvantageous both for that country itself and for the rest of Europe.

Moreover, in France the Herriot Ministry is plainly approaching its end, and it is not yet clear who will succeed Herriot or quite what will be the character of a new ministry. Uncertainty in France and Germany serves to confuse the whole European situation and justify fear that the progress of last year toward adjustment will not be maintained. Concerning all these situations, I shall hope to be able to speak to my readers in the next few months; as I am just starting on an extended trip which will include London, Berlin, and Paris, as well as some of the smaller countries in western and central Europe.

METHODS OF LAND REGISTRATION

BY ANNIE MATHEWS

(Register of the County of New York)

OF FUNDAMENTAL importance to the prosperity of the community is the assurance to the citizen of his investment therein of time and money. Laws governing the safeguarding of land are among the first to be enacted in new settlements.

As early as 1812, real-estate business in New York County was sufficiently important to justify the establishment of the Register's Office, the first in the State; and the work which for the previous 150 years of the county's existence had been done by various other officials became the responsibility of a separate office.

The first system of land transfer used in New York followed the Dutch rather than the English plan. For many years, and even down to the present time in many counties in England, conveyancing has been done by the production and delivery of all the title deeds up to the last ones which transfer the property to its new owner. This method seems very crude, and provides a maximum chance of lost deeds; but it throws light on the importance of the family solicitor (generally the custodian of those precious papers) of whom we read so much in English literature.

Simplicity in the Early Years

The system used by the Dutch in the very early days provided for the appearance of the parties to the transaction before at least two of the local officials. In the presence of this authority they made the statement of the transfer of the property, and this statement, with the description of the property, was entered upon the records. Some interesting "libers" containing such statements are in the custody of the register's office, and others are among the archives in the State capitol at Albany. Following is a translation of one of them:

Before me Nicolaes Bayard Secretary of the City of New York, and before the undersigned witnesses

appeared the worthy Jan Vinge and Pieter Stoutenburgh in quality as Curators of the resigned Estate of Rachel Van Thienhoven deceased right heiress of Jan Jansen, who in their quality by virtue of a patent dated 25 April 1644 obtained from the Heer General Kieft and the Council of New Netherland, declare to convey and transport to and to the behoof of Pieter Jansen Ship carpenter a lot lying within the jurisdiction of said City in the Maag de Paetje, Lying to the north west of Lysbet Tysen, South east of Pieter Harmensen, on the north east side thirty four wood feet four inches on the south west side thirty five feet and four inches in length on the south east side two hundred and fifty and a half feet, on the north west side two hundred and fifty one and a half feet and that as the same is found to be the measurement by the sworn surveyor Corteljou on the 11th of the present month with such existing and dominant services and rights as the above named heirs and their predecessors have possessed and held the same all free and unencumbered except the Lord his right; For which said lot the appearers in quality as aforesaid, at the execution hereof acknowledged to have received full satisfaction and contentment, declaring to convey the same to the said Pieter Jansen desisting by these presents from all action or pretence that they or any one of them can or may have or pretend. Promising also to sustain the said transport as binding and irrevocable, and to acknowledge and fulfil the same and before all men to hold the same free, and that all under bond of their persons and goods without exception, holding themselves subject to all courts and Judges. In witness of the truth these presents are subscribed by the grantor in the presence of the Heer Johannes Van Brugh Alderman and Mr. Isaac Bedloo merchant of said City as witnesses worthy of belief hereto requested. Done at New York on the island Manhattans 23rd October 1665 Johannes Van Brugh, Pieter Stoutenburgh, Isaac Bedloo. J. Vinge. To my Knowledge: N. Bayard, Secretary.

Gradually the system of recording the entire instrument was adopted, and up to about 1898 all this work was done by hand. In that year the typewriter was substituted, and at the present time there is a strong probability that this method will soon be superseded by photography.

In the very earliest days, when the number of transactions was small, the system of indexing was extremely simple, and a few libers were indexed individually by placing the names alphabetically in the

back of the book. Very shortly, however, the increase of business required separate index books. But for the greater part of the period up to 1869, the names of grantor and grantee, mortgagor and mortgagee, were listed only according to a single letter of the alphabet, with no attempt to introduce a vowel system.

An Index with Four Million Names

In 1856, when the indexes contained 600,000 names, an effort was made to improve the system, and a new index—called the printed index—was compiled, in which all the names entered prior to that date were filed in proper directory order. This was a great help, but for some reason, possibly one of the periodical waves of economy, which are often destructive rather than constructive, the work was not continued. In 1869 a two-letter system was adopted, but the conditions in 1891, when a change became imperative, were deplorable.

In that year there were 1,207,100 conveyances and mortgages on record, and these required the listing of not less than 4,000,000 names. With the imperfect indexes, it is easy to see that title searching in those days was immensely difficult. So difficult was it, indeed, that a new profession resulted, that of title searchers—men who became familiar with the books from constant study and therefore were able to extract the necessary information.

Devising the "Block" and "Lot" System

In this case, as in all others, necessity proved the mother of invention, and the great pressure of work which the hustling real-estate buyers and speculators developed resulted in a forward movement and a new system of indexing, which has brought order out of confusion and has made possible the present splendid record of the Register's Office of the County of New York. This was the introduction into the office of the block index, which provided for the indexing of all deeds in the blocks in which the property was located. To each block was given a number, under which the property in this division was entered; and although the law required the indexing by block number only, the Register's Office further improved the system by giving to each parcel in a block a "lot" number.

The huge undertaking of re-indexing under the new system was begun in 1910, and the indexing is now practically com-

plete. The perfecting of the alphabetical index was also undertaken and this also is nearing completion.

Growth of Title Companies

The difficulties and uncertainties of private legal searching during the '70's and '80's were largely instrumental in developing the great title companies, and these companies were the first to make plans which led to the adoption of the block, or, as they called it, locality index. Gradually the companies undertook more and more of the searching work, and with their experienced forces they relieved the buyer of much of the great delay and anxiety incident to securing a clear title. Also, they undertook to guarantee to the purchaser his possession of his land. This was an important service, and the use of title companies in real-estate transactions has become almost universal.

The accepted method to-day is that a real-estate purchaser goes to the title company and places in its hands the responsibility for a complete search of the title. This the title company makes in the Register's Office and from its own records. The company makes no effort to clear up any serious flaws in the title, and generally evades responsibility for even minor defects. When, however, the flaws are slight, carefully excepted by a statement to that effect, the company issues a policy and guarantees the title to the new owner during his time of possession. It must be understood that this guarantee is given only to the owner and that if he later wishes to sell, the same process must be gone through again with the title company. The new buyer must pay for this search and guarantee, though at a reduced figure.

The New System of Registering Title

All deeds, mortgages, leases, and other instruments affecting the property are recorded at length in the Register's Office, and these records must be kept by the county available to the public and in good condition for all time. The tremendous expense to realty dealers of this continuous search is largely unnecessary, as the records of the greater portion of land in this county are clear and unquestioned.

The problem which the housing and care of these records entails upon the Government has raised the question: Is this system in harmony with modern ideas of

economy and efficiency? Quite generally it is realized that this is not so; but the method which is suggested as a substitute is not understood even by many lawyers and dealers. This substitute plan, which became legally practicable in New York State in 1918, is known as the Torrens System, and it provides that the owner's claim to his estate is based upon the registering of his title to it after search, and not upon the assumption of his right to it by the evidence of recorded papers.

The mode of procedure under that plan is this: When the purchaser wishes to register his title to a piece of property, he files in the County Clerk's Office a petition of registration and, at the same time, a notice of pendency in both the County Clerk's and the Register's Offices. All of this is perfectly simple, as the forms are supplied and instructions given at the Register's Office. Based upon this petition, the justice sitting in Special Term, Part 2 (known as the Title Part) of the Supreme Court, refers the application to the Official Examiner, who is connected with the Register's Office. This official, under the supervision of the Register, makes the necessary search and notifies everybody who has any interest in the property, either personally or by registered mail, of the pending registration, and the date of hearing of petition. A notification is also made by publication.

When the search is completed, the Examiner submits to the court a detailed report of the exact status of the title, together with an abstract thereof. Should the justice be convinced, after due consideration, that the title should be registered, he issues an order directing the Register to grant the certificate of title. This certificate is filed with the Register, and a duplicate, known as the owner's duplicate certificate, is given to the purchaser. On this certificate the law requires that all liens, leases or mortgages on the property must be recorded. When the owner wishes to sell, there is no necessity for a further search; but this certificate is produced, the title transferred, and a new certificate made out to the new owner for a charge of \$3. Any past claims which may ever arise against the property are cared for by an assurance fund, which is provided for in the initial payment, and those claims are not any concern of the registered owner.

Economy and Efficiency

The outstanding feature of the Torrens System is that the owner's title to his land is fixed by the Supreme Court of the State, and unless positive fraud in the transfer can be legally proved, his right to the property can never be questioned. The expense of a search is about 60 per cent. of the title company's search.

The preservation of all past records pertaining to the land becomes unnecessary, and all that the Register's Office has to care for is this certificate—a single sheet of heavy paper. On one side of it is recorded the name of the registered owner and the description of the property; and on the reverse, mortgages, liens, etc. It will be seen that this certificate at any moment gives an exact description of the state of the property, as all mortgages, liens, charges, etc., subsequent to registration must be noted on the certificate.

The growth of the system of title registration—introduced first in Australia—has been rather slow, partly because the uninitiated public is nervous about such a mysterious transaction as acquiring a right to a piece of property, and therefore fears the risk of a change of method. Again, the great companies, with their large capital investments, cannot be expected to encourage a system which would eventually injure their business. The chief retarding influence, perhaps, is the fact that the new system is not understood, and the average lawyer or dealer is satisfied with the usual method of doing business and does not bother to look for a better one. Notwithstanding opposition and inertia, its use is increasing. In the County of London, title registration has been compulsory for the last twenty years.

In about twelve of our States the system is legal. The Chicago Recording Office, for Cook County, probably does the largest proportionate amount of business; but in Boston, also, title registration is growing rapidly. Interest in the Torrens System is increasing in the counties of Greater New York, and the recent decision of Judge Tierney in the case of Rubin vs. Smith and Fairchild, affirmed by the Appellate Division, fully sustains the claim that the owner's title can never be questioned but stands "forever binding and conclusive upon the State of New York and all persons in the world."

RADIO—A NEW INDUSTRIAL GIANT

BY J. GEORGE FREDERICK

FOR the last decade or two—until the arrival of radio—the automobile has had absolutely no rival as the great American bonanza industry. The automobile must now, however, definitely take second place; for radio has magnificently outdistanced it in rapidity of growth.

Assertions have been made that there are now more users of radio than owners of automobiles; but that is not yet the case, in my opinion. There are approximately 16,500,000 "listeners-in," counting three to each set; but then there are three or four riders to each car, so that the comparison would not be equal. There are 16,000,000 owners of cars but only 5,500,000 radio sets in use. It does appear that within another year there will be as many radio sets in operation as telephones; and in two years it is altogether likely that there will be more radio sets than automobiles. Within a radius of 100 miles from New York alone there are estimated to be more than 1,000,000 sets and more than 3,000,000 "listeners-in."

The rapidity of development of the radio industry is breath-taking, putting entirely in the shade the automobile's rapidity of growth. The automobile business required ten years, from 1895 to 1905, to attain an annual volume of 25,000 cars. As for radio, within a year after the vacuum tube had been perfected, the great bonanza began. In the early part of 1921, the largest manufacturer estimated that 25,000 sets were all it could hope to sell; but before the year was out 25,000 sets was the quota aimed at *per month*. New radio manufacturers began to spring into being at the rate of about 100 each week. No more remarkable mushroom growth in industry probably has ever been recorded anywhere. Ribbon manufacturers and pants pressers dashed into the radio business with the excitement and verve of the old '49 days of gold prospecting or the land lotteries of

Oklahoma. New incorporations during twelve months totalled \$300,000,000 in capitalization. This, within a single year after the birth of radio broadcasting, amounted to one-fifth of the total present-day capitalization of the thirty-year-old automobile business!

An Industry That Never Was an Infant

The radio industry had no infancy whatever, if one means by "industry" the supplying of sets to hear broadcasting. It is well known that radio, in basic principle, dates back to 1885 at least. As long ago as 1900 speech by radio for one mile was possible, and in 1915 American Telephone and Telegraph Company engineers talked by radio between Arlington and Honolulu, 5000 miles apart. There was no radio *industry*, however, until the Westinghouse Company began to broadcast a popular program in 1921.

Then came the deluge. The winter of 1921-'22 saw the radio makers mobbed. Premiums were actually paid for goods, over and above fair prices. Allowing amply for expansion, as it thought, the Radio Corporation of America estimated at \$10,000,000 its sales for the following year, 1922; but its actual sales reached \$41,606,000. The entire volume of radio sales for 1920 had been \$1,500,000; and for 1921 four times that, or \$6,000,000. But 1922 raised the sum up to \$60,000,000, multiplying the business of the previous year by ten. Sales went to \$100,000,000 in 1923 and probably three times as much for the year 1924. Radio is now thirty-third on the list of large industries of the country, ranking with ship-building, leather, and chemicals. Fourteen radio stocks are listed on the New York Curb market and one on the Stock Exchange. A perspective on the industry is afforded by the statement that radio is now twice as large as kodak and sporting goods sales, twice as large as carpet and rug

sales, and one-third as large as all furniture sales.

Compared with Automobile and Phonograph

Such a jump in volume is an industrial phenomenon of the first order, as is readily made clear by a few comparisons with other industries. To-day, within three years from its first spurt, the radio industry has placed itself, in dollar volume, equal to the automobile business as it was in 1912, then seventeen years old.

The phonograph is even older than the automobile; yet during the second year of radio's life as an industry its sales equalled phonograph sales, and now they are more than double those of talking machines. In fact it is an open secret that radio has precipitated something of a crisis in phonograph selling. On the other hand, there are phonographs in 8,000,000 homes in the United States, more than twice the number that have radio. This is indicative of the further expansion possibilities of the radio industry. As a matter of fact, radio will unquestionably be as long in reaching its so-called "saturation point" as will the automobile, for the same reasons. Like the auto, it is a fascinating mechanism in itself appealing to the American tinkering instinct. In addition, being constantly susceptible to improvement and fashion in models, the tendency is already toward the purchase of not one but many sets by "fans."

Just as the automobile owner starts in, perhaps, with a motorcycle, graduates to a Ford and then on upward to other and higher priced cars, so does the radio fan. He starts with a "crystal" set—which even several years ago greatly outnumbered the "tube" sets. He then becomes a "one-bulb Bill," and moves steadily forward in number of tubes until one is no longer surprised to find mechanics owning 9-tube heterodyne sets. The progressive forward movement in number of tubes is closely similar to the movement in the automobile field toward increased number of cylinders, and is swinging backward to a sensible equilibrium in the same manner.

The picturesque, unusual element in the radio industry is that sets are assembled and finished in great numbers by radio fans themselves. Values as high as \$150 are thus obtainable by means of \$65 worth of materials plus some time, tools, and gray matter. Like the automobile industry, the

parts and accessory business is a very sizeable portion of the industry. Batteries, dry and storage, valued at \$45,000,000, were sold in 1924—a sum equal to the sale of batteries for all other purposes except automobiles. Also, \$50,000,000 were spent for tubes alone, and almost that much for loud speakers and similar accessories.

The number of radio manufacturers is legion. They even defy count, as great numbers of manufacturers of other types of goods make radio parts. There are certainly no less than 3000, and perhaps as many as 5000 manufacturers of some radio part or other, sold to radio fans. It is estimated that close to half a million people are employed directly or indirectly in radio. There are radio chambers of commerce, associations of local distributors, and more than a full complement of minor organizations such as go with an industry of major size. A formidable distributing army is in existence: nearly 1000 jobbers and 25,000 dealers, of which about 3200 are "exclusive" radio dealers, selling radio goods only. Nowadays hardware stores, electric stores, department stores, drug stores, even the 5-and-10-cent stores and the United Cigar chains, sell radio goods.

Responsible for a New Literature

This growth was not attained without some checks. A severe slump occurred in 1923, and even to some extent the year before, due in the main to an utterly fantastic rate of expansion and an influx of incompetents. "Radio shops" had been started by mere boys with little or no capital or commercial experience, or by opportunists from other lines of business with no retailing knowledge. Thousands of these failed, and for a year or two radio had about the worst credit reputation of any field of business extant. To-day, however, the business is in much stronger and more experienced hands.

One of the striking elements about this new favorite industrial giant is the sea of literature in which he moves. It had once been supposed that no other industry except the automobile would get the same inordinate amount of free publicity or have so vast a complement of published matter. But again radio has quite astonishingly outdistanced the automobile. Newspapers, sensing the throb of public interest three years ago, began the publication of special weekly radio sections in tabloid form. The

patronage was instant and generous, both from the public and radio sellers. To-day scores of such tabloid weekly radio sections are published throughout the country, some of them reaching forty-eight pages in size. Scores of newspapers even opened broadcasting stations, including such a large one as the *Chicago Tribune*. More than 5000 newspapers to-day carry the radio programs.

A whole gamut of general literature began to spring up almost overnight. There are now three weekly magazines, sixteen monthly radio magazines, eight specialized trade papers; while fifty general magazines carry radio sections. As for directories, encyclopedias, dictionaries, handbooks and instruction books, they are legion. A total of 275 technical radio books has been published to date. A bibliography on radio would contain enough items to fill several thousand pages in fine print. All this is the product of three years or less, and attains for radio within that short time the complete paraphernalia of a foremost industry, from a beginning that consisted of a few thousand boy amateurs and navy wireless operators.

Where the Rich Came Last

Radio is peculiarly a democratic device. It is for everybody. The automobile started in as a rich man's toy, and it was many years before the average man shared it. The same was true of the telephone. The radio started in quite at the other end of the scale. It began as an average boy's toy, and is ending up as a rich man's luxury as well as a poor man's delight. Automobiles range in price to-day from \$265 to \$20,000, while radio sets range from \$14 to \$5000—with plenty of chance for the very poor who do not have even \$14 to own a set, if they will do a little work themselves.

The entire country has shared radio enthusiasm—some sections, notably the South, being tardy, while the Pacific coast was ahead of the van. The farmer and the inhabitant of very small towns have been the last to interest themselves, but the facts about their number surprise everyone. Last year the Department of Agriculture made a survey of radio sets in rural homes, revealing 145,000 sets used on farms. This number must now be close to 350,000.

The statistics developed by this survey are excellent indications of the general situation. Fifty-two per cent. of the sets were reported to be manufactured sets and 48 per cent. home-made. Sixty-two per

cent. were crystal sets, 20.8 per cent. one-tube sets, 8.9 per cent. two-tube sets and 64.1 per cent. three-tube or more. This latter fact was particularly surprising to some, as it was supposed that farmers would buy only small sets at first. But it was forgotten that the greater distance of farmers from broadcasting stations demands powerful sets. The average cost of the manufactured sets was \$172; of the home-made sets, \$83.00. The maximum cost of manufactured sets was \$600. When the present cost of a Ford car is considered, it will be seen that the average cost of a manufactured set is not far from the cost of a car. To certain well-to-do types of farmers the radio is their stock-ticker; and they listen every day to livestock, grain, and truck quotations, and sell accordingly.

The Broadcasting Problem

There are 537 recognized broadcasting stations in the United States, inclusive of newspapers, department stores, etc. Even Sears, Roebuck & Co., the mail-order house. Zion City, the religious community, and national "chiropractic" headquarters, have broadcasting stations. The total number of broadcasters, including amateurs, is over 12,000. The broadcasting situation is, in all probability, due for a change in the next few years, under readjustments planned by Secretary Hoover.

Schemes for assessing "listeners-in" for money for the broadcasting stations have been devised, but seem imperfect or unpractical. The latest one is for a tax to be paid *on tubes only*; the theory being that the number of tubes is always in proportion to the value of the set, and as tubes must be renewed, it provides a continuous tax. There is no immediate prospect of any plan being operated, however.

It is interesting, in connection with the matter of paid broadcasting, to know that England has now worked out a plan which compels every "listener-in" to be licensed, at a cost of from \$2.50 to \$3.75. Three-quarters of this license money goes to the broadcasting combine, which supplies entertainment and is open to all broadcasting companies. England has now 1,500,000 licenses under this system.

In the past presidential year, it was natural that radio should bulk largely in political discussions. The broadcasting of the two political conventions, particularly the more dramatic Democratic one, gave a

vast stimulus to the further growth of the radio industry. Great numbers of both farmers and city folk made friends with radio for the first time. The utility of radio became secure and certain, for the electorate of the country was present in an auditory sense at the great political conventions. The galleries of the convention halls thus numbered millions, not thousands, and the effect on politics was marked.

Woman's Growing Interest

Particularly was this so of the woman vote. Hundreds of thousands of women had their first taste of political conventions, and it heightened their interest both in radio and in politics. Women had for several years regarded radio more or less as a mechanical nuisance, which their men folk were crazy about. This condition is now changing, and women are definitely interested in radio and are taking special interest in making the radio set more in harmony with home furnishings.

A definite movement is now developing toward paying more attention to the housewife. Various broadcasting stations have for a year or two put on the air lectures, recipes, and house-keeping talks, but in a somewhat haphazard manner. It is being recognized now that women have more time than men to "listen in," and that the morning hours are important for this work. One of the biggest New York stations recently began a "woman's hour," at 10 A. M. Others have radio cooking schools.

Closely related to woman's interest in radio has been the matter of advertising via radio. From the beginning this has been frowned upon, and while some of the big stations charge for broadcasting, there has been no definite success in advertising by radio. The listeners resent the use of broadcasting time for such purposes. "Educative" talks with an indirect advertising slant are being broadcasted, but have small followings. It is too easy to "tune out."

The spoken word, moreover, does not appear to receive one-tenth the interest that music does. A speaker via radio is minus the strategy and range of the ordinary speaker, in that he does not have his audience at a disadvantage by its compulsory physical presence; nor does he have his personality to rely upon—expression, gestures, bearing. Only his voice carries. As a democratic purveyor of music alone, radio is a marvel.

Educational Aspects

Those who realize its capacity, however, see that it has tremendous educative possibilities beyond its current use. Already some intimations of this are apparent. The Kansas State Agricultural College, for instance, broadcasts a college course to farmers, granting certificates to those who pass the written examinations. An old retired farmer was the first to enroll as a student! Enrollments at the rate of 150 a day came in, and at the end of the month there were more than 1000 students. Radio education broadcasted to rural districts would thus seem to be a very lively possibility. Chicago housewives are being enrolled in domestic-science study courses conducted by a public utility company.

In New York a most extensive "Air College" plan has just gotten under way. New York University has arranged with Station WJZ for fifty-four lectures of twenty minutes each, to be broadcasted every week-day evening. After much deliberation eight general cultural courses were selected—archeology, politics, cooperative economics, economics, geology, biology, English, and history. Columbia University, too, has started radio courses, the Home Study Extension Division broadcasting child-care and training lectures.

At Washington, early in October, Secretary Hoover called the Third National Radio Conference, and told it in his opening address that radio broadcasting had now reached the stage where the possibilities and potentialities must be considered as a regular daily routine of the nation. He aims systematically to organize national broadcasting, but is opposed to putting it in the hands of the Government or of a private monopoly, and opposes its use for advertising. He suggested an organization similar to the Associated Press.

A great stir was caused in the whole amusement world in December and January, when two phonograph companies began broadcasting by opera and concert singers. Some of these "stars" still refuse to broadcast without pay; but as hundreds of thousands of phonograph records were sold as a result of the broadcasting it can no longer be maintained that these artists are not paid, since they receive royalties from record sales. It seems certain that regular broadcasting by the most noted musical artists is now a fact.

GANDHI, THE GREAT MAN OF INDIA TO-DAY

BY GRACE THOMPSON SETON

[Mrs. Seton is author of "Chinese Lanterns," "A Woman Tenderfoot in Egypt," etc., and has been traveling in Oriental countries to study the progressive movements.—THE EDITOR]

THE "Great Soul" of India, perhaps of the century, is under an eclipse. Bloodshed, prison, deadly illness and slow recovery have drawn the cloud of failure over his achievements; temporarily or not, who can say? His weapon of peaceful defense, non-coöperation, has boomeranged against him, because his India could not attain that ascetic spiritual level to which his own rarefied vision and dominant will tried to bring it.

The policy of non-resistance, being of the thought world, fared badly when it used the material means, such as human bodies, to withstand powder and shot. When Mr. Gandhi, the man of peace, saw the carnage at Chauri Chaura in 1922, due to "civil disobedience," which was a more or less logical outcome of his non-coöperation policy, he was dismayed and refused to go on, thereby disappointing many of his followers. At his arrest on March 10, 1922, and trial, which led to his imprisonment at Yerroda Jail, he is reported to have said in his fair-minded way that from the British standpoint it was quite understandable and a correct thing to do.

Elements of His Leadership

"Gandhi! You will not be able to see him. No one is allowed to. He is a prisoner and now he is at death's door. It is impossible!"

This was the negation that greeted me when I arrived in Bombay in January, 1924. The papers carried headline stories about the sudden illness of the Great Man of India. Great because no other man of this age has fired millions of people, ignorant, uneducated and learned alike with an idea of spiritual concept. Great because he inspired them to resist a conqueror with one's unarmed body and lift no finger in resistance, relying solely upon



MOHANDAS K. GANDHI, THE NATIONALIST LEADER OF INDIA

(As he looked before his imprisonment, fasting, and illness)

the weight of fundamental justice and right—as the Indian sees it—to break down a superior force; because he inspired them to deny the superiority of the white race, over peoples of a darker hue, claiming it to be only a point of view, which the Europeans and their descendants have arrogated unto themselves and imposed upon the Asiatic world by virtue of the fighting spirit and "supremacy in mechanical inventions." Because he inspired them to discard many of these Western inventions and revert to the less time-saving, less convenient methods of a philosophical rather than

a mechanical people, thereby "saving their own souls" instead of "gaining the whole world." Also to assimilate only such Western culture as was compatible with maintaining the integrity of the Eastern personality, letting the world go by if need be—and to use the very weapons of organization and education which the West had taught them, to fight the growing supremacy of the West over the East. And, finally, to combat by force of his own personality and dominant will the many evils of superstition and custom and divers creeds which were keeping his people, the Hindus, in bondage, and to harmonize the opposing elements of two great religions, the Hindu and the Mohammedan, each with millions of ardent followers.

These were the tasks that Gandhi the Great undertook and, through his vision of his people's needs, he set about throwing off the British *Raj* (rule). He employed a method used only by the spiritual ones of the earth, of which Christ Jesus of Nazareth is the most illustrious example. He sought to elevate the masses, by demanding that they pull themselves up with their own boot straps, as it were. It is for this that his followers, at one time numbering into the millions, believe him to be an *avatar*, and call him Mahatma (Great Soul).

Opposed to Caste Discriminations

He risked his leadership—as he had several times before in declaring for the right as he saw it—by striking at the root of the caste evil and declaring the social equality of the pariah class, known as the "untouchables." These approximate fifty-five millions of "outcastes" who do the dirty work of the nation, like the *sweepers*, whose shadow even has power to contaminate a person of a higher caste. He preached the return to the soil, to the simple life, to home-made goods and Home Rule—"India for the Indians." In his own words, written to Mohammed Ali last February, upon his release, he believes:

In the unity between the races, Hindu and Mohammedan, the *Charka* [the spinning wheel and cottage industries as a remedy for growing pauperism of the land], the removal of untouchability, and the application of non-violence in thought, word and deed to our methods, as indispensable for Swaraj. If we faithfully and fully carry out this program we need never resort to civil disobedience, and I should hope that it will never be necessary; but I must state that my thinking, prayerfully and in solitude, has not weakened my belief in the efficacy

and righteousness of civil disobedience. I hold it, as ever before, to be a nation's right and duty when its vital being is in jeopardy. I am convinced that it is attended with less danger than war, and whilst the former when successful benefits both the resister and the wrongdoer, the latter harms both the victor and the vanquished.

A Thumb-Nail Biographical Sketch

It turned out that I was not to be disappointed in my desire to see Mahatma Gandhi in the flesh, having come all the way to India with that as my dominating purpose. After the officials had given the matter careful consideration I was admitted to the hospital on the pledge "not to make him talk."

Within a few days the press announced the unconditional release of Mr. Gandhi, from serving the remainder of his prison sentence. Everybody was relieved. Progressive India rejoiced, including the Mohammedan revolutionary leaders who shortly after broke out in scathing criticism of Mahatma Gandhi.

In the middle of May, opportunity afforded another meeting with Mr. Gandhi, and this time, knowing there would be a chance for conversation as well as emotion, I fortified myself with a few facts about both the man and the movement, which are here set down for the Tired Business Man and his F. O. W.—Fully Occupied Wife.

Mohandas Karamshand Gandhi belongs to the Banias of Kathiawah, which is a sub-province of Gujarat, on the Bombay side. The Banias are the prudent, thrifty, industrious middle-class, and into a family belonging to a sub-caste of this Bania Community in the coast town of Purbander, on the 2nd of October, 1869, arrived a male child to please the heart of the Dewan (Prime Minister) of Purbander State, the elder Karamshand Gandhi, a gentleman of high integrity of character. Thus Mr. Gandhi belongs to the Vaisya, or commercial caste. A Hindu, his inherited faith was Vaishnavism, but Jainism, with its doctrine of the sacredness of all life, also affected his early youth. He was married at twelve; though he preaches against early marriages, he maintains that his own has turned out most happily.

At nineteen, he went to London to study the law, where he remained for three years, and after a few wild oats, such as studying elocution, dancing, French and the violin and dressing and acting like an "English

gentleman," the while scrupulously observing a vow which he made to his mother that he would abjure meat-diet, wine and women, he soon settled down to serious work for the Bar and the London matriculation examination. Cooking most of his food and living simply, he then deliberately chose the habit of austerity, which has been life-long. About ten years ago he added the vow of poverty to his list of self-denials. He also imposes upon himself as punishment for "neglect of duty" fasts that have lasted from one to five days.

Recently Mr. Gandhi's confession of faith was published. This he outlines under four counts, after stating that at one time he was strongly attracted towards Christianity, but finally found what he needed in Hinduism: the faith into which he was born:

I call myself a Sanatani Hindu, because:

- (1) I believe in the Vedas, the Upanishads, the Puranas, and all that goes by the name of Hindu Scriptures, and therefore in the avatars and rebirth.
- (2) I believe in the Varnashrama Dharma (caste) in a sense, in my opinion, strictly Vedic, but not in its present popular and crude sense.
- (3) I believe in the protection of the cow in a much larger sense than the popular.
- (4) I do not disbelieve in idol-worship.

The Nationalist Cause in India

So much for the man—now for the idea.

The Indian Nationalist Movement has been gathering momentum for forty years. The germ of it dates from 1858, when Queen Victoria issued her Proclamation of the Crown taking over the reins of government from the East India Company and declared the rights of the Indian people—their Magna Charta. Its first roots showed in 1861 when the Councils Act arranged for the participation of Indians with the Government for legislative purposes. But the Nationalist Movement proper began in 1885 with the first Indian Congress which, writes Sir Verney Lovett, was drawn largely from the castes that were clerical, professional and mercantile by tradition, few from the territorial aristocracy nor from the *Sudras*, or low castes.

"Non-Coöperation" as a Battle Cry

The beginning of *Swarajya* (Home Rule) was in 1897 and of *Swadeshi* (Home-made Goods) in 1906. The first non-coöperation hartal (stoppage of business) occurred in Delhi, March 20, 1919. Mr. Gandhi, who

publicly renounced his loyalty to the British *Raj* after the Amritsar tragedy, and because of the Khilafat difficulties, was arrested April 10, 1919, on his way to Delhi, sent back to Bombay and forbidden to enter either Delhi or the Punjab. Mr. Gandhi's power increased, the widespread resentment of the Rowlatt Act and its results greatly aiding him. At a Special Congress at Calcutta in September, 1920, he was in full control. This was followed by a still more overwhelming victory at the Regular Congress in December, 1920, when the creed of the Congress itself was "the attainment of Swaraj by the people of India by peaceful and legitimate means." It advised the adoption of the following resolutions:

- (a) Surrender of titles and honorary offices and resignation from nominated seats in local bodies [by the Government];
- (b) Refusal to attend Government levees, durbars, and other official and semi-official functions held by Government officials or in their honor;
- (c) Gradual withdrawal of children from schools and colleges owned, aided or controlled by Government, and, in place of such schools and colleges, establishment of national schools and colleges in the various Provinces;
- (d) Gradual boycott of British courts by lawyers and litigants, and establishment of private arbitration courts by their aid for the settlement of private disputes;
- (e) Refusal on the part of the military, clerical and laboring classes to offer themselves as recruits for service in Mesopotamia;
- (f) Withdrawal by candidates of their candidature to the Reformed Councils, and refusal on the part of voters to vote for any candidate who may, despite the Congress advice, offer himself for election;
- (g) The boycott of foreign goods.

And inasmuch as non-coöperation has been conceived as a measure of discipline and self-sacrifice, without which no nation can make real progress, and inasmuch as an opportunity should be given in the very first state of non-coöperation to every man, woman and child, for such discipline and self-sacrifice, this Congress advises adoption of *Swadeshi* in piece-goods on a vast scale, and inasmuch as the existing mills of India, with indigenous capital and control, do not manufacture sufficient yarn and sufficient cloth for the requirements of the nation and are not likely to do so for a long time to come, this Congress advises immediate stimulation of further manufacture on a large scale, by means of reviving hand-spinning in every home and hand-weaving on the part of the millions of weavers who have abandoned their ancient and honorable calling for want of encouragement.

At that time Mr. Gandhi's power reached its apex. Millions were influenced by India's acknowledged leader. The Government still did some "watchful waiting,"

though knowing that, since nothing can stand still in this day of quick transportation, it was a choice of keep ahead, or be crushed, or do the crushing yourself. The mass was beginning to move in India and, like their Jaganath cars, unless stopped, would crush what lay before it and it was headed straight for the British *Raj*.

Then the non-coöperationists developed "civil disobedience," and the toboggan of their leader began. He could not quell the mass reactions of unthinking crowds who follow catch words and slogans and could not attain to his rational heights of loving the doer but hating the deed. The country's bad blood broke out in boils—riots, outlawing, dacoiting, even bloodshedding. The "attainment of Swaraj by peaceful means" was rapidly disappearing. The Government remained patient until, in self-defense, it had to administer some bitter medicine.



SAROJINI NAIDU, THE MOST FAMOUS WOMAN OF INDIA

(Who is a supporter of the nationalist movement inspired by Gandhi)

But it was not till after the Chauri Chaura riot in 1922, caused by civil disobedience, when dozens of policemen were killed and Crown property destroyed, that Mr. Gandhi was again arrested, brought to trial—one of the most remarkable on record because of the respect displayed by both the accuser and accused—and sentenced to prison for a term of six years.

The Mahatma Interviewed

So much for a few high lights on the spectacular, non-coöperation phase of the Indian Nationalist movement.

Illness and other considerations having caused the Government to release this political prisoner, the scene now shifts to Juhu, a tiny seaside resort a few miles out from Bombay. Here last April went Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, at the age of fifty-four, still struggling with a weakened body. Asceticism may be good for the spirit but it seems not to make red blood and abounding vitality. In a big rambling house of many rooms and verandas spreading almost like a hotel on the glistening sands of the ocean, I found him after a twenty-mile ride over dusty roads and muddy fields. The tall spires of the yucca in its nest of spiny leaves, punctuated with green the white glare of the beach; and there was little else save long lines of slim-trunked palmettos that souged and rustled in the sea breeze a continuous accompaniment now high, now low, to the voice of the Mahatma. He received me on a second-story covered veranda. A goat, wandering in and out of a long line of doors in the background, gave an idyllic and truly Eastern touch to this scene, as did also the faint noises of many sleepers on distant verandas. For the hour was half-past three and the varying group of intimate adherents were taking a siesta. It was a scorching hot day of the variety only too well-known in Bombay, sticky, enervating, 112 in the shade.

On the veranda below as I arrived, I had caught glimpses of many forms sitting or lying on couches, of a woman combing her long black hair in a distant room, a pile of *chákra*s (wooden spinning wheels) waiting for the patient female hand to turn them. The *chákra* has become a symbol of peace, plenty and power resulting from home industry that the Swarajists have striven to popularize so that English-made goods could be boycotted.

An ordinary Western table and three chairs formed the Mahatma's reception-room on this veranda and he came to me promptly, having graciously accorded the rare privilege of an interview in a brief note written two days before in his own hand on a postal card.

"What had America to give India?" was the first leading question, which did not "lead."

"America has nothing to give India."

Then he gently modified this. "India has to work out its own salvation. We have too much Western civilization already."

"But, for example, how about the improved implements for farming, since India is an agricultural nation, wouldn't it be benefited by exchanging the old hand plough for a tractor?"

"In time, perhaps, but the farmer would have to be educated a long way first. The slower pace is not an unmixed evil. I admire all your wonderful inventions for your own country. Your people are largely literate—they read the newspapers, have telephones and radios, and know what is going on all over the world." I remembered that his people were

only about six per cent. literate and know very little outside of their own village, except what the priest and the political agitator tell them.

More gingerly I inquired if India had anything to give America.

"Nothing much at present. When we are a free nation—perhaps; but India is best within her own borders. The only value she could have to America now, is to point the way back to a greater spirituality. In developing all your wonderful inventions you work only for greater ease and amplifications of life. You are humanitarian but your spirituality seems languishing. Your

prohibition was a good move." He admired our care for the sick and helpless and our social relief work in post-war Europe, but wondered if the Indians would be any happier with all our "restless activity."

When I asked if he liked the latest book published about him, he said, "I do not know—I have not read it and do not know the man! Another big volume about him has met with the same fate. What manner

of man is this who—living and articulate—has volumes of biography written whose authors have never had the opportunity of meeting him personally?"

When I asked Mr. Gandhi what he thought of traveling on the railroad, using the telegraph, telephone, printing press and all the other inventions brought to his country by the foreigner, he replied, "We can not stay the hand of progress, but we want only those things which we can assimilate into our Eastern life and temperament. I do not want to do away with the beneficial things which the British have brought us. Indeed I owe my life to modern science. But I would rather be without it

all if the price we have to pay is our subjection to a despotic power. We prefer to govern ourselves even though we make mistakes. It is the only way to learn."

"Do you approve of Home Rule?"

The expressive face of the non-coöperation leader looked at me pityingly, before he answered with a touch of impatience.

"Why, that is what we are struggling for, of course."

I forbore to tell him that in the maze of published conflicting statements it was not always easy to find the coy Goddess of Truth.

"And will you be satisfied with it?"



MRS. KASTURBAI GANDHI

(From a photograph by Mrs. Grace Thompson Seton)

"Certainly, if it is the same as Dominion Home Rule—and—" a slight pause—"we retain the power to secede if it does not work out. My people have many problems. They cannot be solved in a day. America nor any other country has not much to give us until we have worked out our own salvation."

Concerning his plans for the future, he answered with a gentle, weary smile.

"I do not know. I am what you call 'up in the air.'"

A month before he had written: "My release has brought me no relief. The thought of my utter incapacity to cope with the work humbles my pride."

Mr. Gandhi repeated, "Yes, up in the air. Two of the Swarajist leaders, C. R. Das and Pandit Motilal Nehru are now in conference in another room. I left them to see you and I must go back. They do not agree with me entirely."

Mr. C. R. Das, Swarajist leader, and Pandit Motilal Nehru, pursuing their own courses during Mr. Gandhi's imprisonment, were now seeking to convince the Great Man of India of the merits of their actions—among them the policy of Obstruction in the Councils of which C. R. Das, Mayor of Calcutta and leader of the Indian Radicals, was the father.

Gandhi's Present Position

So far they had beaten fruitlessly upon the adamant wall of will, which is Gandhi. Whether his followers follow or not, the originator of the non-coöperation idea pursues it as he sees it, even to the bitter dregs of temporary recantation of a policy which to his disciples promised ultimate victory but which he felt was leading him astray from the "passive resistance" method.

He is restrained by no consideration of self-interest such as holds the native princes, government officials and landed aristocracy, no fear of place nor pocket-book. Already vowed to a life of poverty and personal negation, what material thing has he to lose?

Mr. Gandhi has begun writing again for his paper, *Young India*, but as yet has made no great pronouncement.

"I do what I can, but I am not quite well yet. The burden is heavy."

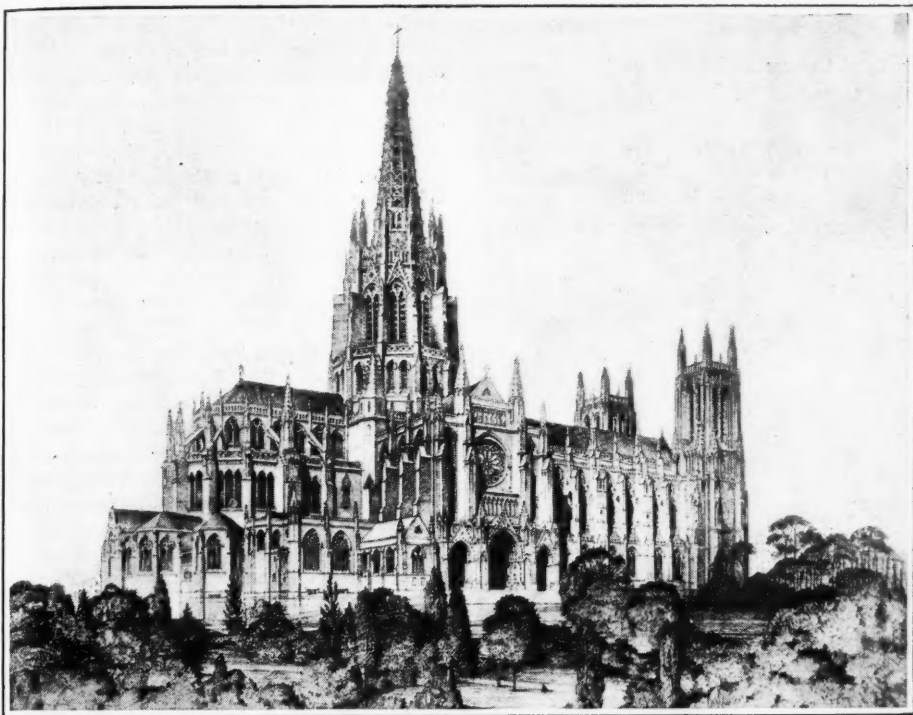
And so he left me to discuss "many things" with his colleagues—a slim, small figure, clad only in a loin cloth, a scrubby moustache and a small wisp of hair projecting from the crown of his head, indicative of the religion which he follows. The Mahatma's body—thin, almost to the point of emaciation—disappeared toward a further veranda, but his spirit remained, as a tremendous, indomitable purpose, attuned to the infinite. A force limitless as electricity itself, but functioning through a defective transmitter; and for those wishing to "tune in" on Mahatma Gandhi to-day, they must use a spiritual X Y Z combination, not a material one. He left me with the feeling that his labors for his beloved Indians would enroll him on History's Scroll, not as a politician but as a saint, an avatar, a Great Soul, carrying the torch of liberty to a people awakened but not yet ready to receive it from his hands.

The Mahatma's Wife

Mrs. Gandhi is a thin, wiry, little woman with an indomitable purpose. Circumstances have forced her out of the quiet home life which she, according to the traditions of her country, would have preferred to lead. Like Sophia Hanum, wife of Saad Zaghlul Pasha, of Egypt, Rosamonde Soong, wife of Sun Yat Sen of China, and other world figures I have met, Kasturbai, the wife of Mahatma Gandhi of India, has been an inspiration and a very real help in a stormy career and, when need be, has carried on her husband's work at no small sacrifice to herself.

During the two years of her husband's stay in prison, Mrs. Gandhi lectured and traveled about the country, telling the people many things for their own good, straight from her heart in simple language. Sitting so quietly beside me—a frail little woman in the Indian-made cotton sari, snowy white with a black border, she seemed selfless, unassuming, supremely without ego. It was hard to realize the unquenchable, patriotic zeal that animates her, until something was said that flashed the fire from her dark eyes and I remembered she had been sent to jail in South Africa for her beliefs.





THE CATHEDRAL OF ST. JOHN THE DIVINE, AS IT WILL APPEAR WHEN COMPLETED

(The apse at the left and the central portion under the proposed tower are already in use, and the foundation has been laid for the nave occupying the right half of our picture. The whole structure will be 600 feet long, and the spire 500 feet high. It will be larger in every way than St. Paul's or Westminster Abbey, in London, or the great cathedrals at Winchester and York)

BUILD THE CATHEDRAL!

BY S. PARKES CADMAN, D.D., S.T.D.

(President of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America)

WHEN in 1876 Thomas Henry Huxley visited New York, his comments upon American life and manners were characteristically pungent. "In the old world," he said, "the first thing you see as you approach a great city are steeples: here you see first centers of intelligence."

It was an infirmity of Huxley's otherwise penetrating mind that it could not associate church steeples with intelligence. Yet three years before he landed here on his way to Baltimore, where he gave the inaugural address of Johns Hopkins University, a few prominent citizens devoted to religion and learning had already resolved to build a Cathedral in New York.

Could the distinguished scientist view the city to-day from the Heights where the Choir, with its encircling seven Chapels, gives promise of the completed majestic

structure, he might reverse his opinion. For he admitted while among us that "man does not live by bread alone," but by those wise teachings of Nature and of history which secure intellectual clearness and moral worth to the community. It is perhaps a truism to observe that such clearness and worth are the derivatives of spiritual forces. Because the Cathedral of St. John the Divine is in itself the product and also the nursery of those forces, its erection is advocated as a prime religious and social need by the representative men and women of the city, the State, and the nation.

The Parthenon, as the crown of Attic splendor, became a lasting expression of the civilization of classic Greece. The eminence entirely foreign to her surroundings, which gave her during the fourth century, B.C., an unequalled drama, poetry, philosophy,

political theory and art, found its consummate embodiment in her stately Temple.

It can be safely asserted that the Cathedral we anticipate, and whose noble design is before me as I write, is to be the visible testimony in material excellence and proportioned grace of an even purer eminence than that which the Parthenon signified. It will stand concretely when completed, for faith in God, in mankind, and in truth, beauty, and goodness as the sole values of human being, whether individual or social.

II

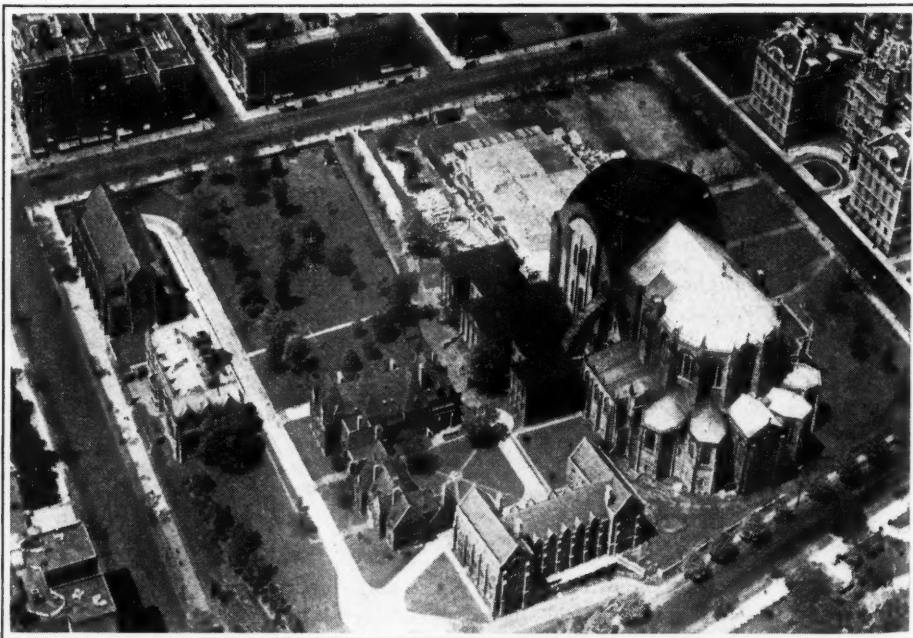
It is also to be the palace and the fortress of religion defined in the three terms I have just used: of religion as the inspiration of those personal virtues and reformatory efforts which are the guarantees of national and international rectitude. The effectual working of the spiritual dynamic which makes us free to be what we ought to be, and do what we ought to do, is the primary purpose of this Mother Church. It enfolds and cultivates the religion which is the soul

of beneficial knowledge, the secret of a unity that conquers the sharpest separations of color or blood.

It has been well said that those who grow roses must have roses in their hearts. Certainly this flowering out of stone and statuary, wood and marble, could not have achieved its present fairness and attraction had not those who proposed it been persons of pronounced and indisturbable religious convictions.

There is another and scarcely less important religious interest urging the project to its fulfilment. It is almost universally recognized that in the future the Faith we profess must be broader, richer, and more comprehensive in its manifestations, if it is to appeal to the imagination and command the allegiance of oncoming generations. Every avenue of its transmission must be widened to accommodate the currents of our ever-widening life. Its message, its guidance, its symbols and its chief buildings should at least be as dominant as its claims.

To this end ideas will have to be amplified, revised, and corrected, ancient preju-



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AN AIRPLANE VIEW OF THE CATHEDRAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE BUILDINGS

(In the upper left corner is the Synod House, used as administrative headquarters and assembly hall. Just below is a training school for deaconesses. To the right of that building is the Bishop's house. The smaller structure in the foreground is the deanery and the large one is the choir school. In the center of the picture is an old orphan asylum, which will be demolished. The foundation of the nave of the Cathedral, upon which work is soon to be renewed, is partly obscured by the dome.)

dices dismissed, and all forms of churchly activity more closely related to the insistent needs of the age. Then, and not till then, can we expect that the recreating and illuminating power of the Holiest and Highest will operate in our pious undertakings. To religion, thus understood, centered in the catholicity of Christ, the Cathedral will bear a permanent witness linking the parent to the family, the family to the state, the state to the world, the world to God.

His Presence is not confined to temples made with hands. Nevertheless He delights to dwell in hallowed structures dedicated to His Name, and when their spaciousness forbids petty distinctions, abolishes differences of rank and condition, and sets the sad and the solitary in His Household for their strength and consolation, the best aims of worship have been met.

It is, therefore, as a great Home of Praise and Prayer for the people, in which the Father's bountiful provisions are spread before His children, that I plead for the completion of the Cathedral.

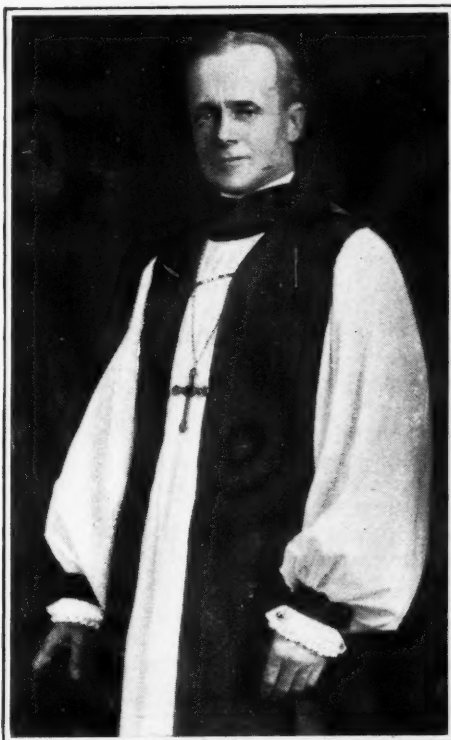
III

The New York upon which Huxley gazed as he sailed up the bay almost fifty years ago has practically disappeared. The outlines of the city have been transformed by an almost unbroken series of gigantic structures of steel and stone, stretching along the backbone of Manhattan from the Battery to the Harlem River.

These structures constitute an unrivalled exhibit of the aggressive temper of the West. The majority of travelers from other lands see them from the harbor and are amazed by the boldness of conception and skilled workmanship which they indicate. One who is satisfied with the surface of things may suggest that nothing is lacking in our city, which should be well on the way to world leadership.

The ethereal loveliness of lower Manhattan's skyline at sunset is among the sights of a lifetime. The Pennsylvania Depot, the Woolworth and Cunard buildings, the Tower of the Madison Square auditorium, to mention no other examples of metropolitan architecture, assert the artistic sanity and freedom of their designers.

Yet secularism stains this profuse and wonderful display. It takes shape, first as a disposition, then as a tendency, and



RT. REV. WILLIAM T. MANNING, D.D.
BISHOP OF NEW YORK

(Dr. Manning has been Protestant Episcopal Bishop of New York since May, 1921, coming to that high office from the rectorship of Trinity Church. He is executive as well as ecclesiastical head of the diocese)

afterwards hardens in the customs and habits which shut out men, women, and children from life's choicest realities.

It protests against the association of art, letters, journalism, trade, even religion itself, with the loftiest spiritual ideals, pronouncing these impossible, though they may be verifiable. The attempt to realize them, cost what it may, the secular mind regards as a bit of delusive heroics. The higher aims of enlightened souls are disparaged.

A steady stream of cynicism, satire, polite or vulgar censure, and, ever and anon, open repudiation, plays upon the motives and the plans of the few daring spirits who have visions of the *beata urbs*. This type of mind shows a strange inability to be warned by repeated disasters in the past. It follows the fleeting fashions of the hour, and pursues things which satiate as soon as they are seized.

Its historic example was the Carthaginian nation, which bequeathed nothing of mo-

ment to posterity, and said nothing that men are not willing to let die. The Carthaginians had wealth beyond the dreams of avarice, together with a commerce which made them masters of the Mediterranean. Yet in the sequel they became the mere puppets of a soulless splendor, and ultimately they were crushed beneath their weight of golden circumstance.

Do not suppose that we are immune from the disease of secularism. On the contrary, the Western nations are peculiarly susceptible to its infection. Whereas in the East the Oriental buries himself in absorbing meditations, in the West we are too often enclosed from birth in a vast material fabric which imprisons us as the men of the Cave were imprisoned in Plato's "Republic."

May it not be justly said that our very progress has interfered with our vital consciousness of things that wake to perish never: "which neither listlessness nor mad endeavor can ever utterly abolish or destroy."

How frequently we are made aware of the absence in otherwise earnest, striving people of a knowledge and a reality truer and more

real than those of mammoth cities, or railroads that rib continents, or swift ships that navigate any seas! These grandiose temporalities encumber as well as advantage modern society. Their distractions dwarf men's self-realization, so that while they furnish ample opportunity for the imaginative treatment of the poet, the prophet, or the philosopher, the age has to lament the fewness of those inspired minds which endow their period with lasting distinction.

IV

The Cathedral is an antidote for this fevered fruitlessness. It challenges the tyranny of the mundane, not by costly and enervating controversy, but by its silent eloquence about eternal things, akin to that of Nature. Permanently formative influences are constantly diffused by its "long-drawn aisles and fretted vaults," within its pillared spaces, upon which "storied windows richly dight" cast their "dim religious light." The burdened and the ephemeral mind alike receive "authentic tidings of invisible Things, of ever-enduring power, and central peace, subsisting at the heart of endless agitation."

I presume that some such reflections as these moved Elihu Root to exclaim: "Build that great and noble Cathedral and help save our own souls!" No man in the republic is better qualified to determine its needs or its perils. His exhortation is the more weighty because given by a statesman whose public-mindedness and considerate discretion have earned him an international reputation.

What he declares is in entire harmony with the relation of the Cathedral to the constitutional system which we as Americans enjoy. The government of just and equal laws, the effective guarantees of rights and liberties, are inseparably connected with the main-



THE CATHEDRAL OF ST. JOHN THE DIVINE AS IT APPEARS TO-DAY

(This is a view looking toward the west. It shows especially well the chapels which half-surround the choir. Present plans call for materially increasing the height of this portion of the Cathedral, as may be seen in the illustration at the head of our article)



INTERIOR OF THE CATHEDRAL AS NOW IN USE

(This shows the choir and the altar, and a portion of the crossing. The eight massive pillars around the altar are of Maine granite, 54 feet high, each composed of only two pieces. Present plans call for replacing the semi-dome with a much higher structural roof. There would thus be another series of windows, 120 feet from the floor)

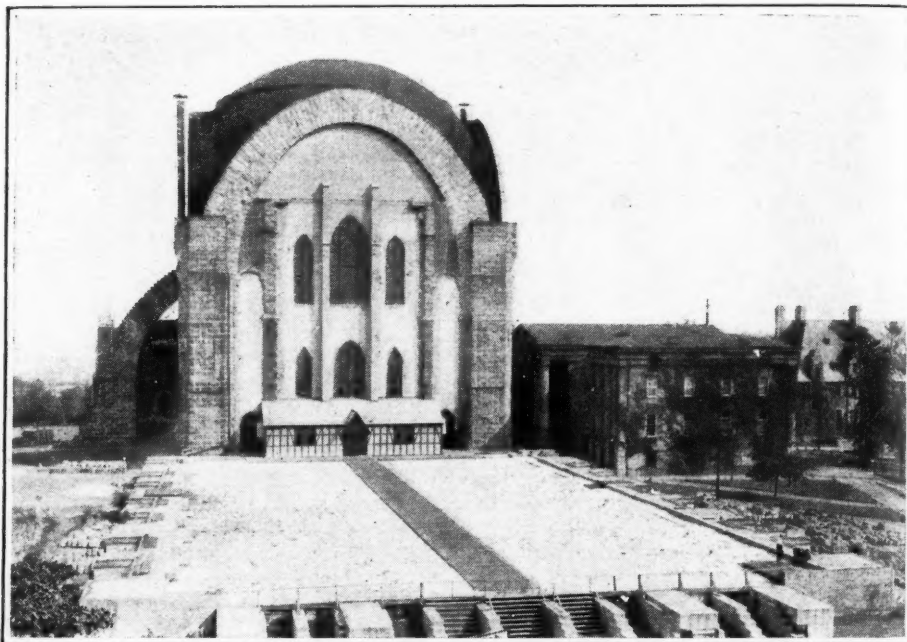
tenance of genuine religion and the suppression of avid secularism. Since the political systems that have been established in free states depend upon a morality they can not generate, this colossal House of God has to assist the state in replenishing the ethic it presupposes but does not of itself originate.

It is more than a diocesan Church, more than a place of worship for everyone, irrespective of sect, descent, or worldly estate. It is an ally of the Nation's integrity and peace. Within its confines questions of capital importance can be calmly discussed for the sake of political and universal well-being by those who do not live by politics alone. I am not exaggerating when I assert that not since the upheaval of the Sixteenth Century have those questions been more insurgent than they are now. Yet how can they be justly dealt with, how can multitudes who are not reached by our conventional agencies be rightly led upon these issues, unless we concentrate and coordinate

our efforts in a place which lends itself to their true direction?

The colonizers and pioneers, the scholars and divines, the leaders and guides who transferred political supremacy from Eastern Europe to the Western World will have to be seconded by a new and living succession, if that supremacy is not to be abused and perchance lost. Men and women must be found who are the masters and the mistresses because they are the ready servants of the state, willing to sacrifice class interest, unlicensed power, and evil monopoly to the general good.

Those who have noted the service of the Cathedral in this respect will not doubt its ability to assist in the finding of these servants. Already from its pulpit the individual citizen has been reminded that he is the responsible agent for the state's progress, that he must foster its intellectual and moral resources, that by him alone is its collective worth maintained, that upon him its religious energies rely. Its industry, its com-



THE FOUNDATION OF THE NAVE OF THE CATHEDRAL

(The steps in the foreground indicate where the "west front" will be, the architect's plan for which is reproduced on another page. The great tower will rise above the temporary dome visible in this view. The portion of the Cathedral here shown—the crossing, with the choir in back—was completed in 1911. Work on the nave is about to be resumed. The exterior of the nave will be 225 feet by 132 feet, the height of the interior 130 feet. Transepts to be erected at each side of the crossing will make the total width of the Cathedral 315 feet)

merce, its education, its laws, and its liberties have been examined, verified, and enforced by authoritative speakers.

How human nature can attain a higher level and thus elevate the state and its international mission, is a matter to which the ministry of the Cathedral has contributed light and stimulus. No sentiment however ardent, no patriotism however unmixed, can avail to secure enlightened political rule unless a purified public conscience is behind their aspirations.

Take a specific instance of the Cathedral's pulpit work in behalf of that conscience. It has invoked the conciliatory temper which is the requisite for national and international unity in behalf of world peace. It has insisted upon voluntary dedication to love, to righteousness, to brotherhood as the sole cures for the feuds and bigotries that alienate domestic groups and nations one from another. It has expounded the Gospel of our Blessed Lord as the dynamic creative of that voluntary dedication. These themes have been advanced, not only by the prominent clergy and laymen of the Anglican

Church, but by those of the Churches of Christendom, whether at home or abroad.

V

This is real democracy in a democratic age, which, to quote the late Bishop Henry Codman Potter, "demands a place of worship that will not disregard the teachings of the Founder of Christianity."

It is in keeping with the Cathedral's mission that there will be no pews, no locked doors, no prepaid reservations. Its charter requires that the seats shall always be free and unappropriated. Civic as well as religious causes draw to its uncompleted fabric 200,000 souls in a year. The days of thanksgiving and remembrance are not less significant or useful than those of admonition and entreaty.

There have come fraternal organizations, societies belonging to the industrial realm, descendants of our continental soldiers and sailors, advocates of world peace, pleaders for Christian oneness, missionaries of the Cross in far-off regions—to say nothing of

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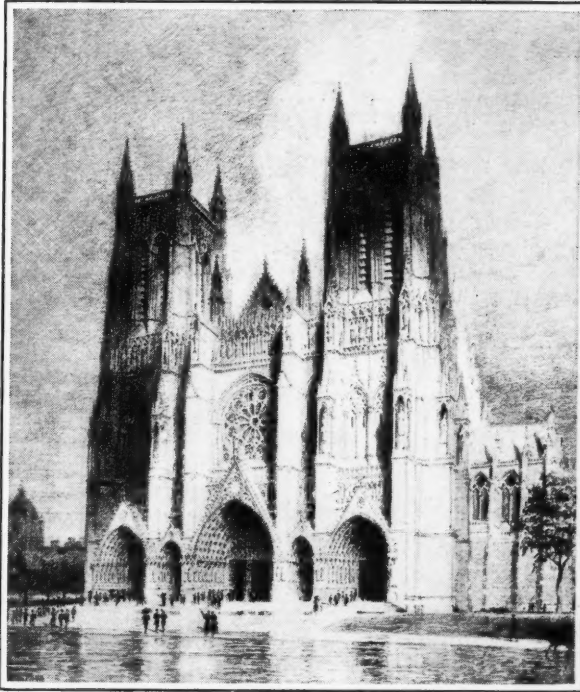
the young, and their diversified student, or other, associations. Who shall estimate what spiritual reactions will result from the completed Cathedral upon the increasing hundreds of thousands who are to gather there?

I own that, like Milton, I love to tread with reverent feet the aisles of a historic Church, to reflect upon the tides of human life that have flowed through them. Westminster's unequalled Abbey, the long perspective of Winchester, the unequalled, glorious Angel Choir of Lincoln, the massive grandeur of Durham, the awe-inspiring beauty of York's Choir and "Five Sisters," have had much to do with my religious education. Viewed from without or within, what among the monuments of the past can compete with them in the present for a certain solemn splendor, or as a sufficient emblem of the divineness and the humaneness of the Christian Faith?

Through a series of developments the Cathedral of our own city is to attain a degree of perfection which will make it worthy of a place among these famous Minsters. Its area will be 109,082 square feet, as compared with St. Paul's 59,700, and its exterior length 601 feet as compared with Winchester's 556 feet. Its nave will rank with those of Seville, Milan, and Bourges as the four finest Gothic naves in the world.

But even more than its size, the artistic merit of the finished structure is to be considered. The blending of French with Anglican Gothic combines the soaring grace of the one with the dignified restraint of the other. August dimensions, wealth of detail, soaring towers, radiating chapels, are all pages of one superb volume of stone in which he who runs may read the lessons of eternity, and he who tarries may gather them unto his heart.

When other buildings of New York have



THE FRONT OF THE CATHEDRAL AS AT PRESENT PLANNED
(With its twin towers, rose window, and five entrances)

fallen with decay or disappeared, Time shall have hallowed this Church, and made it the cherished treasure of the city and the nation. Let us regard it as our communal enterprise—as a sacred trust which we hold as citizens for our successors and for God's Kingdom. Then contributions will flow in, to make its completion a work of joy and gladness, in which every one can have his or her share. We shall, I believe, see the topstone brought to its place while my friend Bishop Manning is the admirable head of the undertaking.

Once the achievement is won, it will be our satisfaction to know that the erection of the Cathedral of St. John the Divine has advanced the supremacy of truth, and expressed the reign of the Spirit. Culture will be less selfish, wealth less sordid, strength less brutal, discord less prevalent. It is indeed a blessed preparation of God's way in our nation to which we can as a united whole lend our cheerful aid.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF ST. JOHN'S CATHEDRAL

THE project of building for the City of New York a great cathedral church, of size and magnificence on a scale commensurate with the greatness of the city, was first conceived by the Right Reverend Horatio Potter, Sixth Bishop of New York. At the request of interested laymen, he made the first public mention of the project in his convention address, September 25, 1872. During the next year the Cathedral of St. John the Divine was incorporated and twenty years later, on December 27, 1892, under the administration of the Seventh Bishop of New York, the Right Reverend Henry Codman Potter, the cornerstone was laid.

The chosen site of the cathedral was the Southern portion of the rocky eminence on which the battle of Harlem Heights was fought in 1776—perhaps the most commanding location in the city for a great house of God. In the immediate neighborhood of this site on Morningside Heights there has since developed one of the most notable educational and humanitarian centers in the world: It includes

Columbia University, which, with Teachers College and Barnard College, has an enrollment of over thirty thousand students; the interdenominational Union Theological Seminary, the largest graduate school of religion in this country; St. Luke's Hospital and the Women's Hospital. Not far away are New York University and the College of the City of New York with 35,000 additional students, making this district the greatest student center in the world. The Cathedral dominates the group on Morningside Heights and when it is finally completed, its spires will be visible from nearly all parts of the city.

What Has Been Built

During the last thirty-two years, expenditures on the Cathedral and its auxiliary buildings have totaled \$6,500,000. The eastern end of the Cathedral with its chevet of the Seven Chapels of Tongues, each dedicated to the service of a different nationality, is completed, as well as the Choir and the Crossing, the space where the north and south Transepts will finally cross the Nave. The sculpture, carvings, windows and tapestries already assembled in the cathedral are among the art treasures of America. The auxiliary buildings erected in the Cathedral Close include the Bishop's House and the Deanery, in French Gothic Architecture of the chateau type; the Choir School, in English Collegiate Gothic; St. Faith's House, the home of the New York Training School for Deaconesses, in Tudor Gothic, and the Synod House, containing the Episcopal offices, in French Gothic of the Thirteenth Century.

With the exception of the Baptistry which is now being built, no work has been done on the Cathedral for the past ten years, although ground was broken for the Nave, May 8, 1916, by the Rt. Rev. David Hummel Greer, Eighth Bishop of New York. At present the Cathedral seats 3,500 people and when the Nave is built, it will seat 10,000 and allow standing room for 40,000 at special community services. The campaign to raise \$15,000,000 and complete the Cathedral has been begun and enough money is now in hand to assure the renewal of construction work during the spring when the Nave, which will cost about \$5,500,000, will be started.

Architectural Features

For the main portion of the building the plans of the original architects, Heins and LaFarge, were followed until the completion of the Choir, when a restudy of the entire problem was made and a new plan in the Gothic style evolved. The interior of the Choir, as it now stands, is of imposing dimensions and massive construction in the late Romanesque style with Byzantine influence, which is not inappropriate to the eastern end of the Cathedral, and which will relatively become a local detail as the prevailing Gothic style of the whole Cathedral develops. The eight great granite columns standing



THE AMBULATORY, OR CORRIDOR AROUND THE CHOIR, SHOWING TWO OF THE SEVEN CHAPELS

in a semicircle and forming seven inter-spaces opposite the Seven Chapels of Tongues are among the marvels of the Cathedral and are approached in size only by those of St. Isaac's Cathedral, Petrograd, their height being fifty-five feet and weight one hundred and thirty tons each. The Seven Chapels which surround the Ambulatory are admirable specimens of church architecture in four different styles—Anglo-Norman, French Gothic, English Gothic and Renaissance. The various chapels were designed by Heins and LaFarge, Mr. Henry Vaughan, Messrs. Carrère and Hastings and Messrs. Cram and Ferguson.

In order to bring the several parts of the Cathedral into harmony and to develop a fitting plan for the completion of the Cathedral, Dr. Ralph Adams Cram was appointed consulting architect in 1911. After sixteen years of work, he has evolved a design which has received the enthusiastic approbation of architectural experts. In style the building will be an adaptation of French Gothic, characterized by amplitude, majesty of scale, and loftiness. The design of the mighty structure of the Nave is considered superior to any of its European exemplars, and its structural organization is, in the opinion of some authorities, superior to any medieval cathedral. Alfred D. F. Hamlin, professor of architecture at Columbia, has said of it, "Nothing comparable to this superb design has ever been conceived or executed in America, and the cathedrals of Europe may fairly be challenged to surpass or even equal it."

The upper portions of the Choir, as they now exist, will be remodelled to bring them into harmony with the Nave, and the Crossing will finally be surmounted by a tower, the cross at the top of which will be 500 feet above the ground. The Transepts follow the general scheme of the Nave; both the North and South Transepts will terminate in elaborately carved porches. The West Front will be completed with a magnificent facade of colossal dimensions, flanked by two great towers.

The Cathedral will be the largest in the English-speaking world, being exceeded in size only by that of St. Peter's at Rome, and the great church on the site of a former Moorish mosque at Seville, Spain. Its area will be 109,082 feet, as compared to 62,108 for Notre Dame, Paris; 59,700 for St. Paul's, London; 46,000 for Westminster Abbey, London; 101,000 for the new Cathedral at Liverpool, as yet uncompleted.

The Cathedral Ministers to All Faiths

While the Cathedral is under the supervision of the Protestant-Episcopal Church in the Diocese of New York, it is in an especial sense a free community church, in which people of all faiths may meet. In the words of the Founder, "In this cathedral there will be no pews, no locked doors, no prepayment for sittings, no reserved rights of caste or rank, but one and the same welcome for all."



ONE OF THE SEVEN CHAPELS WHICH EXTEND IN A SEMICIRCLE AROUND THE CHOIR

(The Cathedral scheme embraces the holding of religious services in many different languages. Our picture shows the Holland chapel, named for St. Boniface and representing the German rite. It was completed in 1916. All the chapels are memorials)

Among the ministers who have spoken from the Cathedral pulpit have been leaders in the Congregational, Methodist, Presbyterian, Lutheran, Baptist, Reformed, and Greek Orthodox Churches. The Cathedral is constantly in use for services of civic and national significance. Its capacity is frequently taxed and often many must be turned away. Noted speakers and wonderful music attract large audiences at the regular services, and foreign groups make use of the Chapels for special services.

The movement to complete the Cathedral is headed by the Rt. Rev. William T. Manning, Bishop of New York, as Honorary Chairman, and Franklin D. Roosevelt, as chairman. The committee includes men of various denominations representing many aspects of life in the community. Notable gifts have already come from people who are not members of the Episcopal Church. Two gifts from Jews have attracted wide attention: one of \$25,000 received from Mortimer L. Schiff and another of \$50,000 contributed by the Altman Foundation.

TEACHING PROSPERITY

BY ALVAN T. SIMONDS

NEXT to health, men are interested in prosperity, both individual and general, for one reacts upon the other. Individual prosperity is a condition of individual economic health. General prosperity is a condition of general economic health. Economic disease destroys economic health in the nation and in the individual, just as bodily disease destroys bodily health. What might be aptly termed great economic plagues devastate the country, and even the entire world, at more or less regular intervals. People seem as helpless before them and as ignorant of the reason for them as they were when the Black Death devastated Europe and yellow fever was doing its deadly work in the tropics, unchecked.

Our Ignorance of Economic Forces

That the American people are ignorant concerning economic forces and the results of the action of these forces upon general and individual welfare is admitted; yet economic forces bring about periods of depression, hard times, with their widespread unemployment and suffering. Economic forces also bring about periods of prosperity and boom, with their overemployment, extravagance, and waste. The business cycle is the wave line of economic action. It is probably true, also, that in the final analysis economic forces cause the wars that—like plagues—wipe out human life. In addition, wars destroy vast amounts of property and capital. Economic forces also bring about peace and are the chief factors in determining how long it shall endure. Economic forces determine the general welfare, upon which the welfare of the individual depends in so large a measure.

That Americans are thus ignorant of economic forces is only what should be expected. Neither public nor private education has attempted to give economic instruction to our youth. Probably not over 5 per cent. are allowed, or in some cases required, to take the subject in secondary schools and colleges.

There is a striking analogy between physical health and disease and economic health and disease, but there is little likeness between the intelligence and energy with which society is dealing with physical disease, and the ignorance and laxity with which it is dealing with economic disease.

What the Youth Learns in School

In the United States, primary education attempts to give a command of the chief tools of daily life, especially those of business and those used in communicating and recording ideas and facts—the three R's. Primary education also seeks to give in an elementary manner some content studies, especially geography, history, civics, physiology, and hygiene. Primary education of course goes further, and aims to train the taste, to form correct habits, and to set up right ideals. It tries to fit the boy or girl to live rightly and efficiently in the social and business world.

Secondary education (except in special schools such as commercial, manual training, and technical high schools, that extend the pupil's knowledge and control of the common tools of industry and business) is dominated by college-entrance requirements. These still over-emphasize the idea of formal discipline, of training the mind, and seem to justify the statement that for a boy or girl, whose education is to end with the high school, a knowledge of Latin and of Greek is worth more than a knowledge of chemistry, electricity, gasoline engines or radio, and that a study of the Punic Wars is of more value than a study of the business boom of 1920 and the hard times of 1921. Economics, outside of Greater New York and a few other scattering places, apparently has not so far even received a hearing.

Primary and secondary education build for the child and the youth a world. This, as modified by the education he gets outside of school, is the only world he understands, and is the only world whose tools he can use and in which he can work more or less efficiently. When the world used compara-

tively few tools and was smaller and less complex than it is now, the problem of the school was much simpler. The task confronting education to-day is bewildering. What knowledge is of most worth? is a more pressing question now than when Herbert Spencer wrote his famous essay.

Hygiene a Comparatively New Subject

Spencer decided that first in importance must always come the knowledge that preserves and lengthens human life. Whether due to him or not, there soon followed the introduction of physiology and hygiene as required studies in the primary schools. Hygiene was confined in a large measure to prophylaxis or disease prevention. Physiology is as difficult a study as economics, and to all except a small minority advanced physiology is even more dismal in its finest and furthest reaches in theory that deals with vitamins, blood corpuscles, and ductless glands. The very name "prophylaxis" convinces the man in the street that it is too difficult for students below college grade. Of course if we say "preventive medicine" or "hygiene" it does not seem so bad.

Hygiene is the science which treats of the preservation of health. We have no word for the science which treats of the preservation of prosperity. Perhaps if someone should coin a word that all could readily understand and use, the problem with which we are dealing would be partially solved. Economics treats of the production, the consumption, and the conservation of material wealth to be used as capital; but there is no term which corresponds to "hygiene" and treats of the preservation of prosperity or material welfare. In medicine a prophylactic is something that tends to prevent bodily disease. Therefore we may use economic prophylactics, meaning those things and measures that tend to prevent economic disease and to preserve economic health. But the expression does not lend itself to general use.

Prophylaxis has made remarkable strides in medicine and in the manner and means of dealing with disease. In this respect it is in the forefront of modern science. This progress may be ascribed chiefly to two factors: the rapidly increasing knowledge of the scientists and physicians themselves, and the aroused interest and education of the public in the application of such knowledge. To use a business phrase, the

public has been "sold" on physical and chemical science and on medical science, especially prophylaxis or preventive medicine.

This has been brought about by general education through the press and the schools. The ground work was prepared in hygiene as taught in the public schools. The study of hygiene received its first impetus in the teaching of temperance hygiene and physiology as required by law in the schools of most the States. Then the care required to keep the body in health was stressed—cleanliness, especially clean hands and nails, clean mouth, clean teeth, proper exercise, air and sunshine. That there are forces causing bodily disease and similar forces causing bodily health and that human intelligence can overcome the former and strengthen the latter, are now generally accepted facts.

Why Not Teach Economics?

But that there are forces causing industrial ill-health or disease in the social body, and forces that cause industrial health are facts not generally known and accepted and therefore not generally acted upon. To be sure, it may be said that people do consider both hard times and prosperity as caused by well-known forces, chief among which is the money power of Wall Street. This explanation, however, is about as scientific and intelligent as the belief in the Middle Ages that plagues caused by filth and insanitary surroundings were brought upon people by God to punish them for their sins, and that it was therefore wicked to combat them.

Most of those who are competent in economic science, and in the science of education as well, believe that economics is too difficult a subject for pupils below college grade. This is doubtless true of the science of economics to the same degree that it is of physiology, hygiene, and medicine, of biology, of physics, of electrical science and the science of radial energy. Stop and think, though, how many boys in the grades below the high school know more about gasoline engines and radio than do their male instructors, not to mention those of the weaker sex, and we may be less cock-sure as to what is too difficult for them to study.

However, in the face of this, it is a safe prophecy that within a generation or two generally accepted economic truths will be

taught to all pupils in the junior and senior high schools; and the science of economics will be regarded as essential to a liberal education? Can we hasten this "consummation devoutly to be wished"?

There are a few educators to-day who are awake to the crying need and who perceive that there is little if any knowledge that is of more importance to the coming generation than is economic knowledge, so taught that it guides the activities of everyday living and striving. But these few educators will make slow progress alone, for most of our institutions for training teachers do not seem to have a very chummy acquaintance with economics. Their courses do not often include the subject or how to teach its elementary truths.

Mr. Roberts as a Leader

The parent and particularly the business man must know more about economics and more about what education is doing and what it is not doing. It is certainly true that most business men are more interested in the subject than they were before 1921 and that their interest is growing. All the large banks and the business forecasters are teaching their clients. Those of the best business judgment are beginning to recognize certain men as experts, just as we recognize experts in other fields of human thought and endeavor. Mr. George E. Roberts, of the National City Bank of New York, will instantly occur to everyone. He has made the "dismal science" interesting and comparatively simple—simple enough so anyone of ordinary intelligence may understand its most important teachings. In 1895, when comparatively unknown, an editor of a small newspaper in Iowa, he published a pamphlet on the Free Silver Delusion which cleared up the matter in the minds of thousands of voters, most of whom had never been to college but who could perceive and understand the truth when presented in a non-technical, clear, and simple manner by an expert. Economics has not been presented in this manner until lately. A leading publisher in New York recently said that Mr.

Roberts had done more in simplifying and popularizing economic knowledge than all other economists since the time of Christ. Others are following his good example.

How to Begin

The problem in the schools has not yet been approached as it was a generation or more ago when temperance physiology and hygiene were introduced. There was then little or no attempt to add the study of physiology as a science to the curriculum of primary and secondary schools. An earnest body of men and women set out to save society and the nation from the waste of intemperance. Physiology was introduced in the form of temperance physiology, on the ground that the knowledge gained by its study would help to correct the evil of intemperance.

Perhaps we can begin with temperance economics. The inflation of 1919 and 1920 was in reality a grand "spree," with the regular headache and depression as a sequence. Many of our economic ills are due to intemperate buying and selling, spending and hoarding. Let us introduce economic prophylaxis or preventive economics, and not seek to have the "dismal science" taken as a whole and at once. Let us do this not only in the schools but with business men and through the press. As Herbert Hoover suggested, let us cut down the mountain peaks of the business cycle and fill up the valleys of depression. Let us avoid extremes and intemperance in the individual economic life and in the general economic condition.

Economic science and social science can show us how to prevent many disorders that tend to destroy prosperity. Let us seek through the schools and the press to popularize this knowledge. The parent and the business executive will gladly welcome it. The coming generation of adults will be wiser in regard to preserving economic health, as the present generation is more intelligent in regard to the preservation of bodily health. Let us learn and let us teach our youth not only how to keep well but how to keep well and prosperous.





THE PROPER WAY TO HARVEST TIMBER, WITH ABUNDANCE OF GROWING TREES LEFT FOR FUTURE CROPS

PUTTING OUR IDLE FOREST ACRES TO WORK

BY W. B. GREELEY

(Chief U. S. Forest Service)

FOR three hundred years we have been draining the storehouses of virgin timber which the colonists and voyageurs found in North America. The sawmills have moved from one forest region to another, like threshing machines through fields of ripened wheat. America has been housed largely from her forests. Four hundred and fifty-six thousand miles of railroad tracks have been laid on wooden ties. Newspapers, magazines, and books have been printed on forest-grown pulp at a prodigious rate. A score of great manufacturing industries have been created whose raw material is timber. We have outdistanced the rest of the world as a nation of wood users; but we have satisfied our enormous requirements by *mining* timber, not by growing it.

Now the old order changeth. The truth

is sinking in that man cannot reap indefinitely when he has not sown. There is hope for the idle forest acres of America, and hope for lumber and paper in the future, for we are *beginning* to become a nation of timber growers.

Conservation in Public Forests

So far, the gains in forest conservation which have commanded the most attention have been chiefly in public ownership. From the timbered portions of the public domain and the eastern mountain lands purchased under the Weeks Law, we have created 157 million acres of National Forests. Together with the state forests, they cover nearly one-fifth of the forest growing land in America. Their boundary lines should be carried forward. More watersheds of navigable streams need the

protection of public forests. The immense "black belts" of denuded land are particularly urgent fields for State and federal ownership. The public agencies of America should ultimately own perhaps twice as much forest land as they do now.

Growing, Rather than Mining, Timber

But the goal of forest conservation is the growing of useful trees on all the land in the United States adapted to timber culture. For one-fourth of our soil the choice lies between wood crops and idleness; and we can no more afford unemployed land than we can afford unemployed labor. Forestry is just as essential on the four acres of waiting land in private hands as on the one acre under public care. Nothing short of forestry on all of it will furnish the wherewithal for building our houses, running our factories, and feeding our presses.

To find out how timber might be grown on all our forest acres was the specific task to which an investigating committee of the United States Senate, appointed early in 1923, addressed itself. It went out into all of the forest regions of the country to obtain its facts at first hand. And in the volumes of testimony which it gathered none is more illuminating than the evidence borne by hard-headed timbermen on reforestation as a business and the keen interest of wood-using industries in growing their future supply of raw material if given a reasonable chance. The old conceptions of timber mining are slowly yielding before economic pressure. A quiet evolution in the commercial use of our forest land has begun.

Testimony from Louisiana

For example, Henry Hardtner of Louisiana told the Committee how an old-school lumberman has become an enthusiastic forester.

"There is no problem whatever in growing trees," said he. "Anybody can grow them. All you have to do is to get them started. Nature does the work, and by helping nature you can grow four times as much timber to the acre in fifty years as nature alone will grow in 150 years. I haven't got a single acre in my 50,000 acres but what has a perfect stand on it, some of it probably only three years old, some of it thirty years old, but I have a perfect stand of timber on every acre."

Said the president of the Great Southern

Lumber Company, owner of 300,000 acres or more of Louisiana pine lands: "Irrespective of what legislation is passed, this company is committed to the policy of reforestation. We are going to make our lumber mill a permanent plant and our paper mill as well."

Pacific Coast Forestry

Mr. C. R. Johnson, a leading redwood lumberman, testified at San Francisco: "We are growing seedlings in a nursery, and just as soon after cutting as we can, we are going to plant about 500 seedlings (per acre) between the stumps of these trees. I think that redwood, as a species, will always exist and will always exist commercially. I believe that it will only be a short time before practically every operator will be reforesting; and some of them—I know our company, for instance, will not only reforest the land as fast as we cut it over, but will also gain on some of the land that was denuded in previous years."

In Seattle, George S. Long, manager of the Weyerhaeuser Timber Company, gave this viewpoint on northwestern forestry: "I really think, gentlemen of the committee, that the lumber and timber interests out here would like to have you, when you leave our State, feel that we are exceedingly anxious to get into this reforestation game. We realize the necessity for it very keenly, and out here where the West ends we want to begin to grow a new forest, and will do it when we have the slightest chance of making it a possibly profitable enterprise. We will enter into a contract to-morrow with the State of Washington to give her 10,000 acres a year for the next twenty years if she will take off the tax, and we pay the fire protection, and we will give them half of the returns."

Experience in New York and New England

Back in the Empire State, the Commissioner of Conservation told the Senators about the progress in timber planting. "We have spent a number of years," said he, "in perfecting a system of forest nurseries in which we are growing forest trees at the rate of upward of 10,000,000 a year, which we sell at cost to owners of private land and furnish free for planting on public land. Wood-using industries in a number of instances are now conducting nurseries of their own. Since the State began the distribution of young trees at

cost there have been planted upward of 80,000,000 trees, or rough 80,000 acres and the movement is growing each year."

George W. Sisson, Potsdam, N. Y., paper manufacturer, after describing how his own pulpwood lands had been cut conservatively for a generation or more, told the Committee that the paper industry in New York must grow trees and grow them near the mills. "We believe in reforestation," said Mr. Sisson, "and we are willing to practice it if we are not hampered by legislation and taxation which will make it economically impossible. We are ready for active coöperation with the State or Federal authorities."

Mr. John N. Carlisle of Watertown, president of the Northern New York Utilities Corporation, added his word: "We put out last year 250,000 trees, and we have growing on one of our rivers alone, a million trees. We expect to increase our plantings on these rivers to half a million trees a year, figuring that on our own properties we can eventually grow in the neighborhood of ten million trees."

The investigating Senators heard much about commercial timber-growing in the Old Bay State. Elisha Whitney, a woodenware manufacturer of Winchendon, put it plainly enough: "My interest was naturally an entirely business one. I could see that our timber was rapidly disappearing. It was perfectly apparent that if my plant was to remain good for anything, I had to find a source of supply to keep it running. So I began planting trees. I have planted about 2,500 acres—about half of it is Scotch pine, about half of it white pine. I have fifty men and boys out to-day gathering red pine cones."

A New Trend in Commercial Forestry

Last summer a group of turpentine producers from the South went overseas to study the naval stores industry of France. They went to find out how the French manufacturers grow in their pine forests a constantly replenished supply of raw material for the extraction of turpentine and rosin; and, furthermore, how every part of their industry is built around and adjusted to the growing power of its forest land. And they sought this information and have published it to their confrères in the trade because they know that the naval stores industry of America has nearly exhausted its virgin lodes of yellow pine and must be rebuilt upon a foundation of forestry.



A PRACTICAL ANSWER TO THE TIMBER FAMINE

(There are hundreds of these planted pine lots in the Northeastern States, which are earning profit for their owners)

This incident is typical of the present trend in commercial forestry. So also is the rebuilding of fire-swept Cloquet, in Minnesota, after her heyday of lumbering virgin woods had passed. The new Cloquet, with her box and paper mills, her "balsam wool" and artificial board plants, and her toothpick factory is a forerunner of the forest-born industries of the future. Not only do they rival the meat packing establishments which utilize everything except the squeal; they rest upon forestry as their source of raw material. Public agencies no longer have a monopoly upon timber growing. It is working its way into the affairs of every-day business. It is becoming a field for the industrial genius and commercial energy of the American people.

As the Committee of Senators viewed it, the good old law of supply and demand is gradually changing the "cut-out-and-abandon" attitude of forest industries toward their land. "As long as cheap virgin stumpage dominated the forestry situation," says their report, "private timber growing

could not be expected to attain any considerable scale. With the rapid depletion of our virgin forests, this situation no longer holds. Forest industries face the alternatives of producing their future supply of raw material or of gradually passing out of existence. There is every reason to believe that the commercial growing of timber will become a factor of the first importance in solving the forest problem."

The Clarke-McNary Forestry Law

But after all, much remains to be done. The Senate Committee found that the two greatest barriers to nation-wide reforestation are the hazard of forest fires and the burden of a system of land taxes illy adapted to a crop which may cover the span of two generations. Only coördinated public action can remove these barriers. But once growing forests are surrounded with sufficient security to be classed as "insurable risks" and once they are moderately taxed prior to the time of harvesting, we shall have gone far in the productive employment of our idle land and in assuring timber for our children's children.

The Clarke-McNary law, enacted on June 7, 1924, was drafted by the Committee which made this comprehensive survey of the situation. Its major features are designed to remove the barriers and handicaps to timber-growing on our 360 million acres of private forest land and give the economic forces behind timber culture the

freest possible play. It sets up a program and creates the machinery for the nation-wide protection of forest lands from fire, through federal coöperation with the States and timber-land owners. It provides for a thoroughgoing study of forest taxation and the devising of tax laws adapted to the rational needs of the timber grower. It authorizes national coöperation with the States in growing and distributing forest planting material, a direct drive for the restoration of our eighty-one million acres of completely denuded land. And it sets in motion an enlarged educational campaign, designed to implant the A B C's of forestry in the land sense and land-using practice of the American people.

This piece of constructive legislation stands out from the hurly-burly of the closing hours of the last session of Congress. The Clarke-McNary forestry law takes its place with the Weeks Act of 1911 and the Roosevelt legislation dealing with the public domain as a milestone on the highway of forest conservation. The preceding statutes had to do with the creation of National Forests and with forestry as a governmental function. This latest chapter of the code aims to make timber-growing, like agriculture, part and parcel of the everyday use of land in the United States. In the long run, it will free the industrial energies of the country which already are learning that timber growing pays. It will aid in putting our idle forest acres to work.



WHERE FORESTRY IS NEEDED—A SAMPLE OF THE MILLIONS OF ACRES OF IDLE LAND, WHICH SHOULD BE GROWING LUMBER OR PRINT PAPER FOR THE FUTURE

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STRENUOUS WORK ON THE FIRING LINE — PUTTING A "RING" AROUND A FOREST FIRE

OUR RECENT FOREST FIRES

FALL skies hazy with the smoke of forest fires have been all too common in the United States. It was once accepted as a matter of course, a part of the season like the reddening of the maple leaves. We still have forty or fifty thousand fires every year which sweep over eight or ten million acres of forest land, often more. But the American public no longer is indifferent to burning woods. Its concern was particularly widespread during the past season. This was due in part to the number and severity of the fires and the space they claimed in the daily news. Emergency measures, like restrictions on hunting and camping, brought the hazard home to many people to whom usually it is distant and impersonal, something left for "George" to attend to. Outweighing all other reasons, however, is the growing interest in forest and game conservation, to both of which fire is the "red enemy."

An Abnormal Year for Drought

1924 was a bad forest-fire year. It may be, as some of our scientists believe, that the earth is undergoing a dry cycle brought about by sun spots. At all events, in terms of "fire weather," the twelve months

of the last calendar year were much worse than average. In Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana, the shortage in summer and fall precipitation was from 10 to 19 inches. The drought in Louisiana which began on June 2 and was practically unbroken on December 1 was the worst that had been experienced in fifty years. Even cypress swamps and alluvial hardwood lands burned. There was widespread drought in the eastern States during October and November, with a deficiency of precipitation in New England of $5\frac{1}{4}$ inches. At Portland, Oregon, the rainfall for the year was 52 per cent. of normal on June 15 and 51 per cent. of normal on September 15. In California, the precipitation from January to September was short of normal by nearly 10 inches—well over one-half of the usual rains during this period. Brush fires, the like of which taxes the memory of the oldest inhabitants, began in the southern part of the State during February.

Forest protection is organized to deal with the customary periods of hazardous weather, like the dry season of the far West which usually extends from about the first of May to the end of September. In the northern and eastern States we expect a

spring danger between snow melting and green vegetation and an autumn hazard after the fall of hardwood leaves. The worst feature of 1924 was the prolongation of most of the usual periods of fire weather. A little rain, evenly distributed, will keep forest areas relatively immune. But when unclouded skies bring no relief for week after week or month after month, the hazard of destructive fires doubles and trebles as the ground litter becomes more like tinder. Hence a year like 1924 is an acid test of forest protection.

Smaller Hazard from Lightning

In one respect Jupiter Pluvius was considerate. While withholding his rains he was more sparing with lightning bolts. The dry electrical storms which pass over the western mountain ranges scattering fire as salt is sprinkled out of a shaker were less common than usual during the past summer. In early May a single storm started 75 fires on National Forests in northern California and during the first three weeks of July 280 fires were set by lightning in the Northern Rockies. But taking the season as a whole, this celestial incendiarism, dreaded by Forest Rangers, gave less trouble than during other recent years.

Fire Losses in the National Forests

Up to September 30, when the back of the season was broken, the National Forests had 7347 fires. This is the largest number which the Forest Service has ever fought,



THE GUARDIAN OF THE FOREST

(A lookout in the Cœur d'Alene Mountains of Idaho)

with the exception of 1917. About 537,000 acres were burned in the National Forests during the year, or something less than one-third of one per cent. of their total area. This is double the acreage burned in 1923, but about half the loss in 1917 and about one-fourth the loss in 1919, two of the worst years experienced in protecting the National Forests.

How California Fought the Common Enemy

Outside of California, the loss in National Forests was small considering the season's hazards, little more than the average during favorable years. California was the most critical sector of the front. From the first of May to the latter part of September there was almost no let-up in hazardous conditions, with the forests becoming more tinder-like every day. Over 100 large and stubborn fires were fought and brought under control, which bears testimony to the fighting spirit of the Forest officers under a continued strain that can be compared only with the stress of warfare at the front.

The entire State responded to the threat which menaced her natural resources with a magnificent spirit of coöperation and teamwork. The forces of the State Forestry Department were largely augmented. A number of counties placed strong organizations in the field. The United States Army furnished troops and airplanes. Volunteer help poured in from many sources. The Red Cross gave first aid at fire camps. An emergency citizens' committee carried a campaign of fire caution into every nook and cranny of the State and organized public support. The toll upon California's forest and brush areas was heavy, including about 360,000 acres of National Forest land, but was small in comparison with the hazard.

The Fall Months in Pennsylvania and New Jersey

In the eastern States, October and November put the guardians of the forests on their mettle. Pennsylvania had 550 summer and fall fires; but they covered only 24,000 acres out of some 13,000,000 under protection. Pennsylvania is protecting her forest areas and annual wood crop at a yearly outlay of less than a mill on the dollar. New York experienced a fire hazard more severe in the entire State than at any previous time since the protection of her forests began, with over 900 spring and

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fall fires. The actual loss was less than half of one per cent. of the forest land in the State.

From the beginning of the year to October first, the Forest Fire Service of New Jersey handled 794 fires, which burned over an average of 32 acres. During the ensuing 45 days with practically no rain and frequent high winds, 215 more fires had to be fought. Only 15 of them reached a size of 100 acres or more, including the large fires at Milmay and Pecatinny Arsenal. The total loss during the fall drought in New Jersey was just short of 13,000 acres.

Massachusetts Well Organized

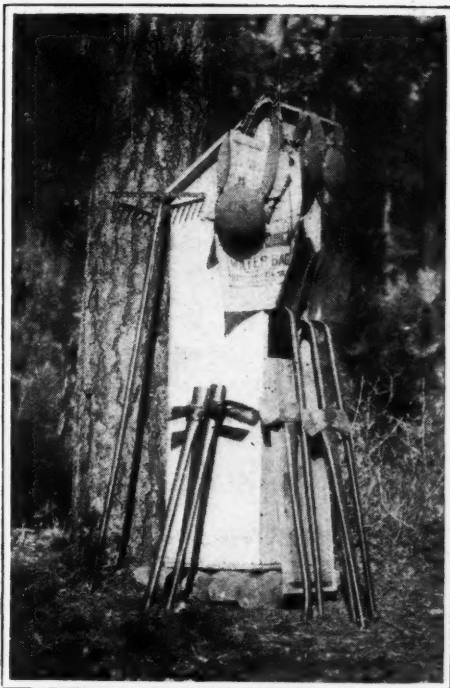
Massachusetts, whose experience was typical of all New England, went through an unbroken drought of 47 days during October and November. That brought a total of more than 1100 fires which burned about 12,000 acres. But at the last reports over 90 per cent. of the blazes were put out before more than ten acres were burned. During the year the Massachusetts Department of Conservation fought over 3150 forest fires, but the average loss was little more than ten acres to each fire.

Losses Small in Organized Territory

The systematic protection of large forest areas is barely twenty-five years old in the United States. Fire has probably levied a toll upon our virgin forests as heavy as that of the lumberman's axe. But in 1924 an army of 16,000 federal, state, and private forest rangers was in the field. Twenty-eight States were organized for the protection of their forests. Through the haze and smoke, the fact stands out that the forest fire is yielding to organized attack by trained men, lookout towers, telephone systems, and fighting equipment. In most of the *organized* territory the losses were comparatively small. When records of efficient protection like those cited can be hung up in such a year, the forester's goal of making woodlands an insurable risk is not distant.

A Railroad's Cooperation

A striking example of the new order in forest protection was furnished by the clearing of the new line of the Southern Pacific Railway through the mountains of southern Oregon. Railroad construction in timbered regions has almost invariably been signalized by destructive forest fires. In this



FIRE-FIGHTERS' WEAPONS

(A trail-side tool cache and its contents)

instance, from five hundred to a thousand men were employed in clearing *and burning* the right of way during one of the driest summers Oregon has ever known. But through hearty compliance with the precautions required by the Forest Service, only one fire got away and it was confined to a hundred acres. Every camp had its fire boss, its fire partols, its power pumps and other fire fighting equipment. Slash burning was permitted only at night and when the moisture content of the air, determined every few hours by simple instruments, was propitious; and every slash fire had to be put out with water by 9 o'clock the following morning. This shows what can be done by an organization imbued with a determination to prevent forest fires.

The South the Greatest Sufferer

The Southern States suffered more severely from forest fires in 1924 than any other region. Forest protection is relatively new in the South. Several States are still wholly without forest wardens; and woods-burning is a custom strongly entrenched among the people. Yet here

no less than in the North, it was shown that forest lands can be protected during as severe a test as has ever been encountered. Of the 13,500,000 acres patrolled by the Louisiana Department of Conservation, the area burned up to the last reports will probably be under 10 per cent. One or more of the large lumber companies which systematically guard their holdings lost one per cent. or less. In the neighboring State of Mississippi, on the other hand, where there is no semblance of forest protection except by a few individual land owners, it is probable that 75 or 80 per cent. of the timbered and cut-over lands were burned in the course of the year. There are still 150,000,000 acres of forest land in the United States where fire roams as freely as it ever did; and the greater part of it is in the South.

Improved Equipment for Fire-Fighting

In technique and mechanical equipment, we are gaining ground rapidly in making our forests secure. We have learned to study and interpret fire weather. The little sling psychrometer which tests the moisture content of the air and tells how fires are going to behave during the next few hours has taken its place as a fire tool beside the long-handled shovel and the double-bitted axe. Forest-fire warnings by the Weather Bureau have proven of immense value. The one-man or two-man gasoline pump has become a powerful ally, and astonishing results have been gained in overcoming the physical obstacles to its use. A fire in Southern Washington was put out last summer by two small pumps which with 10,000 feet of hose relayed water for nearly two miles.

The Peril of Smoking in the Woods

But on the fundamental problem of controlling the human menace to our forests less can be said. Everybody is taking to the woods these days and 50 or 60 per cent. of everybody smokes. The country over, outside of the incendiary and lightning belts, smoking is the foremost hazard to forest lands, although the unextinguished camp fire often is not far behind. For all the posting and warning and preaching, smoke columns still mark the woodland trek of recreation seekers and the

daily fire curve rises sharply at the opening of a hunting season.

In the emergencies of 1924, public use of forest lands was curtailed more drastically than has ever been attempted before. The Governors of at least nine Northeastern States shut out fall hunting until rains broke the drought. In June the Governor of Oregon suspended the hunting season, cancelled all brush-burning permits, and called upon the owners of lands where fires were burning to extinguish them immediately. Restrictions were put in force on the more hazardous portions of many National Forests, ranging from the complete prohibition of public travel off main highways to bans on smoking and the confinement of camping to safe areas cleared of inflammable debris. Los Angeles County adopted an ordinance which prohibited smoking in any wooded or brush-covered areas.

Fire Prevention Fundamental

Underlying all such remedies is the outstanding need for public education in good woodcraft. It is not the man or the gun or the fishing rod that menaces our forests, but the mishandled match, the smouldering camp fire, and the unextinguished cigarette or pipe heel. Recreation is one of the greatest services that our forest spaces can render, and it would be unfortunate indeed if their preservation should require a serious curtailment of this great social function. The constructive, and ultimate, solution must be found in teaching our millions of woods-going folk to respect and safeguard their sylvan retreats. Nor, in either restrictive or educational measures, can we overlook the careless logger, the negligent railroad, or the brush-burning farmer. They all have fires to account for.

While substantial headway has been made in protecting American forests, there is yet much to be done. In terms of men, money and equipment, contrasted with acres, the job of protecting the 600,000-odd square miles of privately owned forest land in the United States is still but one-third done. Fire prevention is easily three-fourths of our national forest problem. It is a large part of wild life conservation. It is fundamental to outdoor recreation. The experience of 1924 should be a call to arms for a nation-wide attack upon the "red enemy."

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ST. PETER'S CHURCH IN ROME, THE LARGEST CATHEDRAL IN THE WORLD

Its area of 227,000 square feet is twice that of the Cathedral of St. John the Divine in New York. Its dome and cross rise to a height of 448 feet. Our photograph was taken from the center of a great circular plaza. At the right is one of the buildings of the Vatican. St. Peter's was erected during the sixteenth century, after plans by Michelangelo. The architectural details are in themselves so huge that the natural effect of magnitude, in the structure as a whole, is lost.

ROME AND THE HOLY YEAR

BY JOHN GLEASON O'BRIEN

(Former Vice-Consul of the United States at Rome)

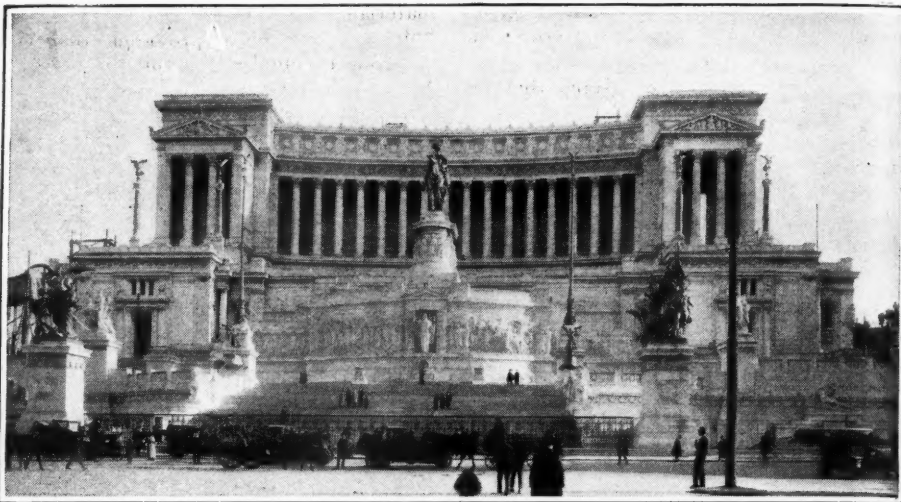
ROME is making elaborate plans to care for one million pilgrims during the Holy Year. The saying "All Roads lead to Rome" will be demonstrated in 1925 as never before in the history of Christendom. The Pope has proclaimed the present year as an "Anno Santo," or Holy Year, during which adherents of the Roman Catholic faith throughout the world are invited to visit the Eternal City. In return the Church offers special spiritual benefits. The Holy Year dates back to the middle ages. It was instituted by Pope Boniface VIII in 1300 A. D., and has been held once in every twenty-five years since that date. The last Holy Year took place in 1900.

American Catholics plan to make the pilgrimage in large numbers. America has been engaged in a war of worldwide dimensions since the last Holy Year, and many an American Catholic will make the age-old pilgrimage to Rome as a spiritual offering for a loved one who made the supreme sacrifice. This article, however, is con-

cerned with the physical activities and preparations necessary to care for the influx of a million persons, rather than the spiritual aspects of the event.

That Rome and the Italian Government are aware of the significance of the Holy Year to Italy is apparent in the efficient and systematic preparation for the reception of the pilgrims. In this country, the Italian Ambassador, Don Gelasio Caetani, has proved of great help in advising Americans concerning conditions in Rome and how best to meet living costs.

Estimates vary widely concerning the number of pilgrims who will visit Rome. *Le Soir* of Brussels believes that it will reach one million, and the manager of the National Touring Agency forecasts 1,225,000. The *Mezzogiorno*, an Italian daily published in Naples, places the figures at two million. The Rome representative of the Knights of Columbus is authority for the statement that he has seen documents to prove that a German company with a capital of 6,000,000



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THE IMPOSING MONUMENT TO VICTOR EMMANUEL II, COMPLETED IN 1912

(Rome is rich in its ancient memorials, commemorating the conquests of builders of a great empire, but here we have a monument to a modern ruler. Victor Emmanuel became King of Sardinia in 1849, led in the movement for national unification and was proclaimed King of Italy in 1861. During his reign—he died in 1878—united Italy became one of the great powers of Europe. This monument is more than 200 feet high and includes an equestrian statue of the King surmounting a massive flight of steps. The columns of the colonnade are themselves 50 feet high)



AN AIRPLANE VIEW OF ST. PETER'S CHURCH, IN ROME, AND THE VATICAN

(A better idea of the immensity of St. Peter's is afforded here than in the illustration on the following page; and in no other way can the vast plaza and colonnade be so well pictured. The group of rectangular buildings at the right of the Church are those of the Vatican, or residence of the Pope)

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gold marks has been organized. It guarantees to bring to Italy 900 Germans a day, nearly one-third of a million for the entire year. It is planned to lodge them in portable houses set up on vacant lots at a cost of from thirteen to forty-four cents a day, at the present rate of exchange. Despite the variation in the estimate of the number of persons who will visit Rome, observers agree that a million at least will pass in and out of Rome during the year.

A central committee, with headquarters at Rome, has been appointed to organize the activities for the Holy Year. It is charged with all details concerning publicity and directs the activities of the national committees in foreign countries. The functions of the national committees include those of making known the purpose of Holy Year, to organizing the pilgrims into groups or parties, endeavoring to secure attractive railroad rates, and other similar tasks.

These committees are encouraged to have correspondents in Rome for obtaining in advance lodgings for their pilgrims and are requested to inform the central committee concerning the exact date of arrival and number of their parties. Despite the fact that prices for building materials are well nigh prohibitive, there is a large amount of construction under way. This is due in part to the movement of the population from the rural sections to the capital, but more particularly to building speculation due to the "Anno Santo."

Notwithstanding the increase in building, it is a foregone conclusion that the number of Pilgrims coming to Rome will be accommodated with difficulty; and the problem of finding lodgings will be the most perplexing one for the central committee to solve. The committee states, however, that it has at its disposal thousands of rooms offered by private individuals, certain religious edifices, and two large buildings in the Via Porta Fluviale which will hold 500 beds.

The municipality has not been lacking in its efforts to cope with the housing shortage. Additions to old buildings have been encouraged. Public lots to be utilized for the erection of hotels for the Holy Year have been ceded on favorable conditions. With building materials costing heavily, a 50 per cent. reduction has been made on the price of communal lots and payment has been extended over a period of five years.

Persons desiring to construct houses have been exempted from the duty on building

materials and from taxes on the erection of hotels and pensions, providing that construction is completed in time for the Holy Year. The railway administration has ordered reduced rates on building materials. Finally, the Ministry of Finance has waived, against guarantee, the deposits required on the importation of iron, placed on the free list. The result has been that some houses are going up containing 700 rooms while others vary from 160 to 300 rooms. They must be habitable by the end of February. Four new hotels will be ready, namely the Splendid of 500 rooms, the Flaminio of 150 rooms; the St. Angelo and the Svizzero.

In the event that these preparations will not suffice, the Commune proposes to build temporary structures which will be definitely completed after the Holy Year. The Mayor of Rome, in an interview given the press, stated that there were 30,000 rooms in actual construction which would be completed by the end of 1924.

The central committee has obtained from the Italian State Railways, for pilgrims coming to Rome for the Holy Year, reductions of 30 per cent. for those who travel alone, of 40 per cent. for groups of not less than fifty, and of 50 per cent. for groups of not less than 500 who occupy an entire train. The amount of rolling stock will be further increased to meet the demands of heavy traffic and trains will be run at convenient hours. In Rome two special electric tram services will be organized, the first taking in the four churches which the pilgrims are to visit and the second uniting the railway stations of Termini and Trastevere. Persons who have visited Rome will recognize the importance of this announcement, as greatly facilitating the handling of traffic.

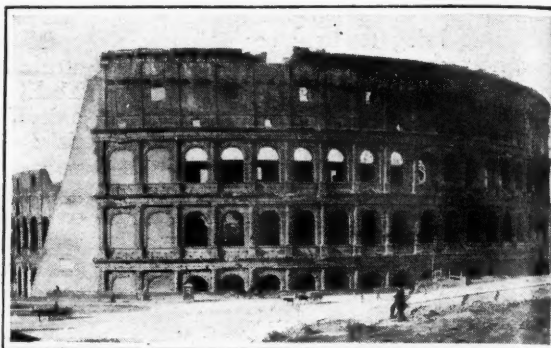
The question of reduced passage on ocean liners has not yet been determined upon, though arrangements are now under way to effect such a reduction. Signor Morol, agent of the United States Lines, has been in New York in an effort to secure the operation of additional ships for the benefit of tourists. It is felt that the regular flow of American tourists in season will be ample to fill American passenger ships. Due to this fact it is doubtful whether substantial discounts in favor of the pilgrims would be granted, unless they reserve all accommodations on particular vessels run solely for the pilgrimage.



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TRAJAN'S COLUMN

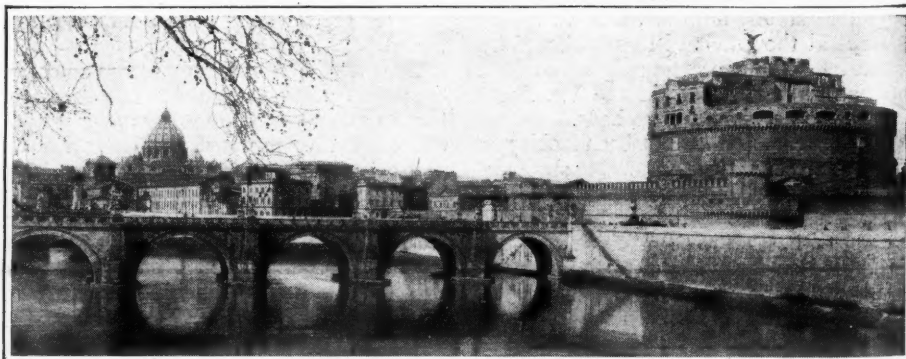
(Commemorating victories by the Emperor Trajan against the Dacians, in 106. The statue of St. Peter was placed there by Pope Sixtus V, about 1588, displacing one of Trajan)

**THE RUINS OF THE COLOSSEUM**

(An amphitheater used as a stage for gladiatorial shows. The extreme outside diameter is 617 feet. Construction was begun in the year 72. After four centuries the ruin wrought by time was hastened by the carting away of stone for building material)

**THE PANTHEON, MOST PERFECT OF CLASSICAL BUILDINGS IN ROME**

(Erected by Agrippa in 27 B. C. or by Hadrian a century later. Now the church of Santa Maria Rotunda. The walls are twenty feet thick, supporting an enormous concrete dome. The interior is circular, 142 feet in diameter)

**THE RIVER TIBER, ROME, WITH THE CASTLE OF SAN ANGELO AT THE RIGHT AND ST. PETER'S IN THE DISTANCE**

(The modern embankment now protects Rome from damage by floods when the river rises abnormally)

Rome is not neglecting her streets and other physical appurtenances. A large amount of street-repairing is going on in the residential sections and in some business quarters entire streets are being rebuilt. Thoroughfares and public squares near the principal churches of Rome are being made safe as well as sightly. Particular attention is being paid to the streets and approaches to the Colosseum, the Forum, St. Peters, the Catacombs, etc. The Piazza della Stazione Termini has been much improved and the street car service reorganized.

Obviously the residents of Rome are anticipating a great influx of business as a result of the Holy Year. The industries are relatively unimportant in comparison with those of Northern Italy. Artistic wares, which are made in great quantities in and about Rome, will comprise the stock of most retailers. That there will be a sharp rise in prices, with tariffs exacted which may cause some pilgrims to charge profiteering, no one will deny. Rome has a Holy Year only four times in a century, and the "stranieri"—as the foreigners are termed—must be expected to pay.

Food will be expensive, for Rome will be called upon to feed an army of between one and two millions. Already the increased costs of foodstuffs are making themselves felt. Worthwhile lodgings will command high prices also, as comfortable ones will probably be insufficient. Proprietors who recently erected houses have done so on speculation and with the intention of recouping a large percentage of their outlay and capital in 1925. Romans anticipate at least one permanent and good effect from the increased building, namely, that the housing problem, which has been acute since the war, will be relieved. High prices for labor and materials in the building industry may also return to normal.

The American consulate is making extensive plans for the reception of American pilgrims. Under the direction of Consul Dominian, the staff has made arrangements to register all Americans desirous of doing so. The Consulate will be supplied with information concerning lodgings, handling of baggage tickets, and other details.



Photo from Ewing Galloway

A PRESENT-DAY VIEW OF A PORTION OF THE FORUM ROMANUM, WHICH FORMED THE POLITICAL CENTER OF ANCIENT ROME

(At the right is what remains of the Temple of Saturn. In the center is the famous Arch of Severus, built in the year 203, of massive marble blocks, to commemorate victories by the Emperor Septimius Severus)

LEADING ARTICLES OF THE MONTH

Senator Borah's Program

THE new position of Senator William E. Borah, of Idaho, as Chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, succeeding the late Senator Lodge, gives an increased significance to his utterances on public affairs. Apparently taking account of this fact, the editor of *Scribner's Magazine* obtained for his January number a brief article from the Senator on "The Republican Victory: What Shall We Do With It?"

Senator Borah begins his survey of the situation with a reference to the fact that nearly 5,000,000 voters, out of a total of 29,000,000 casting their ballot in the last election, registered their conviction that neither of the old parties was longer fit to administer the affairs of government. Commenting on the Republican elation that the third party did not receive a larger popular vote, Mr. Borah remarks that it was quite large enough to put the party in power upon notice that it has a task to perform and that this task must be faithfully and courageously discharged.

The first duty of the Republican party, in Senator Borah's opinion, is to rid the Government of malfeasance and corruption. It is not to be believed for an instant that the vote last November indicated any indifference to this issue. The only reason, according to the Senator, why the people did not pass condemnation at the election was their exceptional confidence in the integrity and purpose of the President, entirely apart from the record of the party itself. In other words, the people trusted President Coolidge to initiate a thorough-going program of housecleaning.

In the matter of governmental extravagance Senator Borah finds no words severe enough for the excoriation of Congress and such administrative bodies as the Shipping Board, the Alien Property Administration, the airplane enterprise and

the various oil transactions. Our tax bill, local, State and Federal, has mounted steadily. In 1913 it took 6.4 per cent. of the national income for taxes. In 1922 it took 12.1 per cent. for the same purpose. Thirty years ago our taxes were \$12.50 per capita. In 1923 they were about \$68 per capita. Senator Borah estimates that at least \$5,000,000,000 of our national debt represents sheer waste, extravagance and profiteering. In the States the percentage of increase from taxes during the past ten years has ranged from 100 per cent. to 350 per cent. The tax bill of the farmers in 1922 was considerably more than twice what it was in 1913. The farmer is now paying nearly one-sixth of his entire income for taxes. Prof. Richard T. Ely has asserted that "taxes on farm lands are steadily and rapidly approximating the annual value of farm lands." The Republican party is obligated to give the people economy in government. That issue, says Mr. Borah, brought Mr. Coolidge more votes than all the other issues combined.

Senator Borah is impressed by the gravity of law-enforcement as a national problem. Whatever may be one's belief regarding the Eighteenth Amendment and the propriety of having such a provision in the Constitution, every consideration of good government requires that it be respected and enforced so long as it stands unmodified and unchanged. At the same time it is the privilege of any citizen or body of citizens to urge a change of the Constitution and such a right should not be challenged. Mr. Borah believes that there should be a nation-wide movement for law enforcement with a general appeal to the people, in order that public opinion may be molded in support of the cause.

In the field of foreign affairs Mr. Borah gives a summary of his views which coin-

cides in the main with the presentation made elsewhere in this number of the REVIEW by Mr. Hard (page 149). He declares his opposition to foreign entanglements or engagements, partly because they constitute a real hindrance in our leadership toward disarmament and peace.

Mr. Borah believes that as a nation we should take the lead in creating a body of international law, incorporating in such a code a declaration that war is a crime, and in establishing a World Court wholly divorced from international politics and political institutions.

Radio and the Pulpit

EVERY Sunday leading speakers in New York and other cities address hundreds of thousands of radio "listeners-in" on religious themes. A single speaker may in an hour reach more people than could be addressed in a long lifetime in the past. It is not strange that religious leaders are giving serious thought to the possibility of broadcasting their appeals. In the *New York Times* for December 21 there appeared interviews on this subject with several well-known preachers. One of the most interesting of these statements was that made by Dr. S. Parkes Cadman, of Brooklyn, N. Y. He said:

"My radio congregation is variously estimated from 500,000 to 2,000,000. It is difficult to visualize this great army. My father preached continuously for sixty years, and throughout his lifetime he addressed fewer people than I reach by radio in a single afternoon.

"When it was first suggested that I broadcast my sermons, two years ago, I doubted the efficacy of the new plan for several reasons, and hesitated to adopt it. Many people throughout the country are only too willing to seize upon an excuse for staying away from church, and I did not care to offer them such an opportunity. If my sermons were broadcast from the pulpit in the course of the regular service morning and evening, there was a chance of such a conflict. Some 98 per cent. of the sermons of the country are delivered at practically the same time.

"This danger was avoided by broadcasting my sermon on Sunday afternoon, when I preach before the Y. M. C. A. in Brooklyn. The experiment was tried on two Sundays. Success was practically instantaneous. We were simply deluged with letters, thousands of them, testifying to the popularity of the work. The popular appeal was so powerful that the sermons had to be continued, as they have been ever since.

"The scope of the broadcasting has since been greatly extended. A special line to Boston has made it possible to reach the New England States. On the west the Appalachian Mountains present a more or less serious barrier, but the near Middle West is within effective range. I am heard with good results, for instance, in Cleveland. To the south the radius is even more extended, and the sermons are clearly heard in North Carolina. Thousands of letters of appreciation come to me from the Eastern

States. And when I visit the cities, towns or villages throughout this vast region I not only meet people who listen regularly to my sermons but are familiar with my voice."

Dr. Cadman is fully alive to the unwisdom of attempting to promulgate special doctrinal views, by means of the radio:

"In addressing an audience so large and heterogeneous as that reached by radio, the speaker must be judicial in his attitude. If he preaches narrow doctrine he antagonizes; his audience tunes him out. Against this, if he will expound sincerely personal opinions intelligently held he seizes an opportunity which has no parallel throughout the ages. He must not attempt to destroy the faith of any of his listeners.

"Now, the American public is the most tolerant and sympathetic to be found anywhere in the world. It is the American spirit to sympathize with anyone who preaches for the universal good. If the message broadcast expresses a sympathetic and broad view of life, it will be widely received. The radio audience is an interesting cross-section of the American public. If the radio audience feels that the speaker has the interests of public welfare at heart, they will stand an immense amount of criticism.

"The American people are emphatically religious. Here is an explanation in part of the unprecedented size of the audiences which listen regularly to sermons every Sunday throughout the country. Even the controversies in religious matters merely prove that religion is very much alive. These controversies are not always to be deplored. It is merely religious energy misapplied. Beyond question our people are at heart deeply religious. Radio proves it."

Each week Dr. Cadman addresses directly an audience of about 1200 men. He speaks for twenty-five minutes and then devotes an equal amount of time to the answering of questions which have been sent in by interested hearers at a distance. Concerning this part of the service, Dr. Cadman says:

"Thousands of letters come regularly by mail from the unseen audiences throughout the country. Only those which are signed are considered. These are boiled down to some sixty, which I attempt to answer each Sunday. I think I express the general opinion of my great radio audience when I say that the answers to these questions are the most fascinating part of the weekly program.

"I confess that the questions are hard work. They make it possible, however, for the entire audience, scattered over many thousands of square miles, to take a personal part, so to speak, in the service.

"It is interesting to note that fully 60 per cent. of all the questions submitted from the great diversified radio audience have to do with religion. On the whole the questions are very commendable. They show intelligence and sympathy. The question most often repeated concerns the future life. There is everywhere an insatiable curiosity to know what will happen after death. The question comes from all classes."

The radio preacher works, of course, under serious limitations. There is the loss of gesture and in other respects, too, the personality of the speaker can not possibly be broadcast. This is unfortunate, yet Dr. Cadman says that it has been proven over and over again that if the speaker is in dead earnest the spirit is in some mysterious manner actually transmitted to his hearers.

An incident from Dr. Cadman's personal experience is here related by him:

"Some time ago I chanced to be motoring alone on a remote mountainside in Pennsylvania, when my car suddenly stopped. It was past midnight, and the darkness was unrelieved by a single light. Eventually a car approached, halted near me, and a voice from out of the darkness asked if I had broken down. I answered briefly that such unfortunately seemed to be the case. The reply coming out of the darkness on this remote mountain road was remarkable. 'Oh, I know you,' said the voice. 'You are Dr. Cadman. I know your voice well.

"I hear you preach every Sunday afternoon by radio."

Dr. Fosdick's Comments

Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick is impressed by the sympathetic attitude of the public toward the broadcasting of religious services:

"By broadcasting the church service a great audience is built up, obviously far beyond the capacity of any church. It is not only widely scattered, but is often discovered in unexpected places. The letters of appreciation which pour in upon me are often full of surprises. It is natural that the great army of those 'shut in' by illness should welcome the radio, but the appeal is much more general.

"There is a large audience which has the impulse to attend church, but lacks sufficient energy to make the necessary journey. If the sermon can be brought to them by so slight an effort as the revolving of a dial they are willing to give their attention. I presume there are many people who listen to the sermons by radio who have recourse at the same time to the illustrated sections of the Sunday newspaper. I understand that my sermons are heard in many parts of the campus at Princeton, for instance, by students who enjoy their pipes at the same time.

"I have had many touching letters from invalids confined to their homes and unable to attend church services to whom my sermons carried through the air are a great satisfaction. One of these, for example, comes from a sufferer from neuritis, who has been kept away from church for years. I am able to reach many patients in hospitals, whose Sundays would otherwise be uneventful. The list of shut-ins who enjoy sermons by radio might be continued indefinitely."

A New Form of Religious Revival

THE industrial city of Fitchburg, Mass., with a population of 44,000 and situated about fifty miles west of Boston, was recently the scene of a religious revival which an English visitor, the Rev. Frederick W. Norwood, described as the most significant thing that he saw in America. Mr. Norwood gives an account of what he saw in the *Christian Century* (Chicago) for December 18. He estimated the population of Fitchburg as 50 per cent. Roman Catholic, 48 per cent. Protestant and 2 per cent. Jewish. Among the larger groups he found solid "clusters" of Greeks, Finns, Germans, Italians and French Canadians.

A wealthy manufacturer, living in Fitchburg, had thought that there was something missing in the civic and personal life of the people and had declared that if he knew how to bring true religion to the people of Fitchburg, he would gladly give up his

wealth for that purpose. By a strange coincidence some university students in Boston were just at this time advised by Canon Woods of England to select an American town and try to do for it what had already been done for the English town of Derby by way of stimulating an interest in religion. These students happened to select Fitchburg as the scene of their endeavors. When their representatives visited the town to interview religious leaders and others interested, they had an opportunity to meet the manufacturer, to whom allusion has been made, and came to a sort of bargain with him:

He offered to finance any efforts they might make. It was subsequently agreed that five of the young men should spend all the summer in Fitchburg, study the conditions of life there, talk to its individual citizens and seek to formulate a plan. Then it was understood that later on some fifty or sixty students from many of the universities might

be brought together for concentrated effort. The business man had an idea that there should be something spectacular about what was done. He thought religion did not appeal to the eye as it might, and he came to the conclusion that he would himself underwrite a great pageant which was presented by a gifted young actress and was entitled "The Beatitudes." He spent more than \$5,000 upon the adequate staging of this pageant, some eight or ten thousand people gathered to witness it and were deeply impressed.

Then another business man, the head of a great advertising enterprise, offered his help to the students. He thought religion was not sufficiently advertised and told the students how to go about it. The result was that for several successive weeks before the opening of the mission, small one-column two-inch advertisements appeared in six different locations in the daily newspaper setting out some pointed question concerning religion. I can give you just two of them as samples:

"Think it over. What does your family gain by your attendance at church? Ask them.

"Think it over. What is it that makes a man forget and neglect his religious life when he has money and health, and be the first to call on God for help when he is in trouble? What is it?"

"Think it over" became the slogan of the mission. It appeared in many different places. It appeared in advertisements for houses and land or for situations that might be vacant. It appeared on tram-cars, on boardings and handbills. Three thousand blotters were printed and distributed by the merchants and shopkeepers containing an appeal from the students to make religion a real thing in Fitchburg.

This discussion had been in progress for some time when sixty of the students arrived to begin an active campaign. Most of them were under twenty-five years of age, some were in training for the ministry, some preparing for work in technical schools, and most of them college graduates. They were instructed in the technique of street preaching by Dean Brown of Yale. In the evening they spoke at street corners, and

at lunch hour they went to the great factories and talked to the operatives in their moments of leisure. They went to the high schools and talked to the students at recess time. The Roman Catholic priest told them that they had his intense sympathy and his prayers would follow them. Unitarians, Universalists and Swedenborgians united in sympathetic support of the movement and no one group antagonized another. Mr. Norwood himself spoke each evening in the largest hall of the city. He says:

I never had a more receptive or attentive audience. There was no effort to bring them to what we call a definite decision; they just listened to a frank declaration of the faith of Christ as one saw it and they listened with keenness and appreciation. On the final Sunday night when it was understood that the meeting would begin at eight o'clock they told me at six o'clock that the hall was full at seven o'clock people were streaming away and at eight o'clock not only was every seat occupied but the people were standing three deep round the walls, violating all the health regulations and breaking all the police orders. Well-dressed people were sitting flat upon the floor because there were no chairs. The platform was occupied by a bevy of men who represented the Rotary club. They led the singing and it was apparent to me that some of them were not very accustomed to doing that kind of thing, but they did it with cheerfulness and goodwill.

I found the whole city stirred, and stirred principally by young men and women most of whom had never preached before in their lives. Not one of the women, I imagine, had expected to speak in public, but they all did before they were through, and gloried in the opportunity. It may interest you to know that the general verdict was that the women spoke better than the men. The men were a little concerned about the technique of preaching, and were very careful to make their position logically sound. The women spoke with simplicity straight from the heart and got straight to the hearts of other folk.

The League Criticized

A CRITICAL, though not essentially unfriendly, estimate of the League of Nations, which, however, is in no wise enthusiastic, appears in the *Rivista d'Italia*, from the pen of Felice de Chaurand de Saint Eustache. The writer remarks that a lack of faith in its power to help was manifested in September, 1923, at the time of the Italo-Greek trouble resulting from the assassination of the members of the Italian mission for the delimitation of the Albanian boundaries—an infamous crime against the individuals and an outrage against the

country they represented and the principle of diplomatic inviolability.

The legal competency of the League was denied, as the question was not one of juridical arbitration or of the interpretation of an international misunderstanding (Article XIII of the Treaty of Versailles). The tardiness of the procedure determined by Article XV, in the decision of the disputes confided to the League, and the obligation imposed upon those who had appealed to it, not to have recourse to arms before the expiration of three months from the date of

the arbitral decision (Article XII), excluded for this Italo-Greek conflict any possibility of applying to the League. Indeed, it gave scant assurance of impartiality. The little states were notable partisans of Greece, considering the case to be a defense of the weak against the strong, and France and Great Britain would have had a fair field to display their Grecophile proclivities.

According to this writer, the various efforts of the League of Nations to affirm itself have as yet proved unfruitful. The United States, enriched with European gold, has alike abandoned the ex-allies and the ex-enemies, at last made aware that Europe was unable to systematize a durable peace. "The Americans had little esteem for either, and they saw in the former allies debtors who did not pay, in the latter enemy peoples whose chief regret was that they had not been able to borrow so as to escape paying."

Six years have elapsed since the end of the war, but peace has not yet come! A sense of disquietude and uncertainty prevails in Europe. This depends in great part upon the conditions imposed by the conquerors upon the conquered. More important than all is the question of the reparations owed by Germany to the victors, and this is bound up with the guarantees France demands against a German reawaking. It is a problem which invites

the consideration of the financiers of Europe, is connected with the liquidation of Europe's debts to the United States, and renders less easy that friendly consideration between the governments that ought to be the foundation of the League of Nations.

The idealistic monument Wilson raised and incorporated in the Treaty of Versailles (says the writer) signifies substantially the creation of a "super-state," which is to accomplish general pacification and the abolition of war among the individual states. Under the appearance of a limitation of armaments, there would be instituted a juridical organization from which force would be eliminated. All war having ceased, human progress would be confined to material development. The idea of an "enemy" would be removed, to be replaced by that of an associate. The writer asks whether this is realizable. In the meetings of the League, rivalry of interest will always divide the greater powers with their respective following of minor states, and the most trifling incitement will suffice to sweep aside the juridical safeguards and again let loose the "dogs of war."

Comparing the standing armies in the twenty states which formed Europe before 1914, that is to-day in the period known as that of the armed peace, with the peace effectives of the thirty states into which Europe is divided to-day, we find that to the three and a half millions of troops of pre-war times there correspond to-day just as many, with the aggregating circumstance that by the treaties of Versailles, St. Germain and Neuilly, Germany, Austria and Bulgaria are almost disarmed. According to the dictum attributed to Cardinal Caraffa, the legate of Pope Paul I to Henry IV of France: *Mundus vult decipi, deinde decipiat!* ("The world wishes to be deceived, therefore it will be deceived.") Barnum had another way of expressing it.

Articles in the *Round Table* (London), on "The British Commonwealth, the Protocol and the League" and "The Geneva Protocol—an Analysis" together form an indictment of the Geneva Protocol from the British standpoint. One gathers from the reasoning of these writers that in their opinion the British Empire or Commonwealth is in itself a League of Nations, and that whenever the interests of the British Commonwealth collide or seem to collide with those of the organization at Geneva, the former should take precedence.



JOHN BULL: "TAKE OUR DISPUTE BEFORE THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS? YOU ARE MAD! WHAT HAS BECOME OF THE RIGHT OF THE STRONG?"

(From *Humanité* (Paris, France))

The English Air Fleet and French Security

THE article under this title in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* for December 15th, 1924, by Admiral Degouy, throws much light on a little-known phase of the World War. He believes that an early descent and landing in force on the enemy's coast, strenuously urged by British officers, would have prevented the establishment of the German U-boat center at Zeebrugge, and probably would have materially shortened the war. This long historical digression—nearly half the article—bears upon the main subject at a single point. It prompts the expression of a hope that so great an error of omission will not be repeated. It is recognized, however, that such a diversion, or flanking strategy, must now be aero-naval at least, if not wholly by flying forces.

The sailor-author has no use for peace counsels. He makes short work of the "pathetic eloquence" with which the great Hall of the Reformation at Geneva re-echoed last September, designed to assure to humanity the blessings of perpetual peace—eloquence uttered by just such noble and sincere visionaries as those "to whose deceptive illusions the most clever and most perfidious aggression of Prussia gave the lie so cruelly fifty-four years ago." Indeed, the conquerors not only of the second but of the first Napoleon seem no less to appear emphatically in the wrong—for it is bitterly interjected that the fast-approaching next and yet more murderous assault on Belgium and France will start its rush "not from the Rhine, but from the artificial frontier assigned to France by the Allies of 1814"—whose error was doubly indefensible when repeated at Versailles a century later.

The insistence on the withdrawal of France from the Cologne sector and from the Ruhr is stigmatized as a fatal error, making the next war the more imminent and certain. The recent discoveries of rifles in Germany were not necessary, for it was already known that the great German manufactories of ammunition and ordnance, if suppressed at home, have vigorous plants in full blast in Holland, Switzerland, Spain and Argentina.

The new war may come any day, in a sudden and unannounced assault on Belgium and Northern France:

They would be quite wrong if they abandoned their atavistic method of warfare, despite its final lack of success in 1918. . . . In their plans for revenge, and with their conviction that the hour of complete vengeance is to strike quickly, the Germans will bring with them the complete, the total devastation of that portion of France which they succeed in invading, before the measures put in motion by the League of Nations or by France herself, perhaps—above all—before the British fleet, unless it be an aerial armada, could intervene effectively.

Would we revive from this second, yet harsher, trial? With the present means of destruction, of which we can hardly form a conception, Belgium and the North of France would undergo a frightful cataclysm. . . . And, Dear Allies, Dear Associates certainly you would save us anew, but it would be as the surgeon saves his patient once more, by a final operation, . . . the one that delays death by but a few days at best. . . .

It must be recognized that this is no isolated or frantic voice. Indeed the last quotation is in the main a deliberate repetition of an utterance publicly made five years ago; and the long paper is given full space, and tacit editorial approval, in the most dignified and honored of French periodicals. The report just issued, that there will be an excess of births over deaths in the whole country, of only 28,000 for the last six months of 1924, as against 37,000 in the first half-year, has avowedly added to its despondency. So, too, has the remarkable success of a Zeppelin's transatlantic voyage.

Frenchmen generally are disposed to agree with many Germans, that the latter really won the war, economically and eventually, since they wiped out France's industrial equipment and kept their own intact. Such a belief is itself a potent and dangerous international firebrand.

There is one encouraging feature in the article—the entire absence of doubt as to the good-will and the readiness to help in direct need, of ourselves and England. Indeed one of the most cheerful notes is the remark that the irrational scare of the British in 1923 over the supposed preponderance of the French air fleet has left no permanent result except a most desirable one—the better equipment of an indispensable and loyal ally.

The rather mocking affectionate and confident tone in "Dear Allies, Dear Associates" is the only hint of the writer's feelings toward us.

Italy's Position on the Armament Question

THE most advantageous policy for Italy to pursue in any conference on the question of disarmament, and the wisest course for her to follow, is set forth by an Italian writer in the journal *Politica* (Rome). He decides against the proposed proportional reduction, according to which the limits are to be fixed, on land, in the air, and on sea, for each power in proportion to its present forces and its present needs, arbitrarily estimated. For it is quite clear that under such a system Italy would be allotted land forces greatly inferior to those of France, naval forces greatly inferior to those of England, and aerial forces inferior either to those of France or of England—that is, in the whole world forces distinctly inferior to those of powers which are admittedly of the first rank.

The consequence would be the humiliation of Italy's prestige, and hence of her international influence by this official recognition of her inferiority among the great powers. This would mean an emphatic recognition of her perpetual military inferiority, with an evident peril to her security, and a diminution of her effective independence and her influence in all questions, not only of world-wide scope, but even of merely European or Mediterranean scope, and the material impossibility of ever modifying in her favor an international balance of power—especially in the Mediterranean—in which Italy would be literally suffocated. This would be equivalent to checking her necessary historical development, that is to say, bringing about her historical suicide.

The writer now demands a remedy for this. In his opinion Italy must lay claim to the classification of the powers into great powers and minor powers, such as was officially recognized and adopted in the great Peace Conference, when the powers having general interests (England, France, the United States and Japan) constituted the Supreme Council deliberating over all the world problems, and the powers with only special interests were excluded from the Council, and only permitted to defend these special interests. This distinction was later preserved in the Council of Ambassadors, and was reproduced in the League of Nations itself, where only those of

the first group (excepting the United States, which did not join in the pact) have the right of being permanent members of the Council. Hence this distinction has already been acquired, not only historically and *de facto*, but as a judicial and diplomatic distinction also.

On the basis of this distinction Italy should require that the eventual limitation of the armaments, whether on land or sea, or in the air, shall be perfectly equal for all the great powers already officially recognized as such. In effect, no one can maintain that a great power should officially recognize its own inferiority, not merely in the present, but permanently, as regards all the others. This does not indeed signify that Italy should immediately create an army and a corps of aviation equal to those of France, or a fleet of cruisers and submarines equal to those of England, but it signifies that she reserves to herself the power and the right to constitute such forces whenever the political situation shall impose it upon her. It signifies that Italy claims a position of equality which no power can contest, a privilege of which she can avail herself in case of need.

The advantages of this system are not less evident than is the injury inflicted by the other. First, Italy's prestige is maintained and reaffirmed; secondly, her military power, to-day in right, to-morrow in fact, is proclaimed equal to that of any other state, thus guaranteeing her security, her independence, her force in international politics; thirdly, the possibility of having, when the hour shall come, a power adequate or at least not too far inferior to the requirements for the development of her position in the world, and especially in the Mediterranean; fourthly, in practice, an immediate and effective check on the military power of those who are to-day the strongest, and fifthly, "the great probability—in view of the unfailing outside opportunities—of breaking down the immoral, pseudo-judicial edifice by the paralysis of the historical thesis that lying demagogues have been building up for years, from Versailles to Geneva, as to the Wilson peace, to the compression of Italy's virile expansion."

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The League of Nations and the Schools of the Saar

THE proper and equitable treatment to be accorded to the mixed schools of the Saar basin constitutes a problem which is studied by V. Mangano in *Rassegna Nazionale* (Rome). It is well known that the Treaty of Versailles provides that in 1935 the Saar basin shall be called upon to express the determination of its populations as to their future nationality by means of a plebiscite. The rule adopted here of an interval of fifteen years before taking a vote on the ultimate destiny of the Saar is worthy of note. In the case of Upper Silesia the plebiscite was taken a very short time after the signing of the Treaty of Versailles, and for the district of Memel, that of Wilna, as well as for Eastern Galicia, no plebiscite at all was taken. This striking difference of criteria and of methods indicates that the special course to be pursued is not due to political but to juridical considerations.

The League, which owes its birth to the Treaty of Versailles, has assumed as to the fate of certain territories, not only the function of judge, but that of trustee as well. In this latter capacity its duty is to preserve, not to deteriorate or change; to conserve for the better. Now, as to the Saar region, where a suspensive term of fifteen years has been established, it is important to avoid any interference with the results of the plebiscite of 1935. Especially in view of the exceptional length of the interval, it is clear that the most entire neutrality should be assured, in order to allow the populations complete freedom in their eventual decision, and to provide this is a specific duty of the League of Nations.

It ought not to be forgotten that the Versailles Treaty gives to France the coal mines of the Saar, but not the territory, and the French organization is a mining administration; that is to say, a technico-economic organization for the French personnel among the miners. Otherwise these populations would find themselves withdrawn from the jurisdiction of the German Reich and rendered dependent upon an irresponsible power. So far the League of Nations has committed the grave error of leaving everything to the government commission, which, under the denomination

of "Mixed Commission," has assumed, little by little, autonomic functions, although it is in reality merely a French Commission, with troops of occupation and special duties for the commerce with the rest of Germany, and thus has come to constitute a veritable French Government.

However, the Treaty has established, subject to eventual revocation by the results of the plebiscite of 1935, the sovereignty over this territory for Germany. In the Saar region German law is always in vigor, so that we have to-day the anomaly of a suspended sovereignty, while its legislation continues to be in vigor, of an autonomic government which is not that of a population, but of another state than that to which the territory belongs.

To provide for the education of the children of the miners, the Treaty of Versailles permitted the French to establish only elementary and technical schools for their mining population, but as in the Saar region there are no French children, and as the German children are under the obligation to attend the German schools, now dependent upon the governing Commission of the Saar, the immediate and direct consequence was that the French schools remained without scholars. Under different conditions this would have demonstrated the uselessness of the French schools in this territory, but the governing Commission, forgetting its origin and exceeding its powers, undertook to promulgate an ordinance permitting the children of the Germans in the Mining Administration of the French mines to frequent the schools which the Treaty had destined solely for the children of the French personnel.

The educational policy that the governmental Commission has endeavored to realize evidently seeks to prepare a favorable result for France in the eventual plebiscite. Political colonization, an educational policy of denationalization, various forms of repression, constitute the old and deplorable armory to which recourse is always had in similar cases.

In preparing his article the writer was obviously looking forward to the approaching meeting of the League of Nations Council at Rome in December.

Latin in American Schools

THE belief has been widespread that the study of Latin was on the rapid decline in the schools and colleges of the United States. A sweeping refutation of this idea is found in the recently published first volume of a report on "The Classical Investigation Conducted by the Advisory Committee of the American Classical League" (Princeton University Press, 1924). Greek is disappearing from the curriculum. Latin emphatically is not. Nearly a million young people are now studying the language of ancient Rome in American institutions.

The investigation conducted on behalf of the Classical League is said to have been the most comprehensive and significant survey ever undertaken for any subject in secondary education. A total of 1,313 schools, 8,595 teachers and about 150,000 pupils participated in this investigation, which lasted over two years and cost \$125,000. The Special Advisory Committee in charge of the investigation was composed of ten college professors and five representatives from secondary schools, while the statistical part of the survey was handled principally by a committee of fifty college professors of education and psychology. Some of the principal results are thus set forth in *School Life* (Washington, D. C.), in a discussion of the report by Mr. James F. Abel, of the U. S. Bureau of Education:

Courses in Latin are enrolling more high-school students than courses in all the other foreign languages combined. The average daily time outside the class now given by Latin pupils to the preparation of their lessons is considerably greater than is required for any other subject in the secondary school. Latin students surpass non-Latin students in the mastery of other subjects, and the superiority seems to be due to something gained from the study of Latin rather than to greater initial ability.

The percentage of secondary schools offering Latin is greater than that of such schools offering any or all other foreign languages, and the percentage of those giving four years of Latin is greater than that of those giving three years of French, the foreign language next highest in enrollment. In addition to the 940,000 young people studying Latin in the secondary schools, 40,000 more are pursuing courses in it in the colleges. Of 609 colleges in the continental United States 606 will accept and 214 require Latin for admission to an A. B. course. One-half of the State departments of education are distinctly friendly to the study of Latin, 15 are sympathetic, 7 neutral, and only 2 unsympathetic or unfriendly.

Approximately 22,500 teachers of Latin are employed in the secondary schools, and the demand for well-trained teachers is steadily increasing. In places of fewer than 2,500 population nearly 40

per cent. of the teachers of high-school Latin have never gone beyond the secondary school stage in their study of the language.

Greek occupies a much less important place than Latin in secondary and collegiate instruction. About 11,000 high-school and 16,000 college students are studying that language. Only 20 colleges require a knowledge of Greek for admission to an A. B. course, though 559 will accept it. Eight of the State departments of education are friendly toward the study of Greek, one-half are neutral, and 16 unfriendly.

The value of the study of Latin as "mental discipline" has been the subject of so much skeptical comment that the committee's views in regard to it are of special interest. We read:

The committee believes that habits of mental work, tendency to neglect distractions, ideals of thoroughness, accuracy and precision, and right attitudes toward study are some of the mental traits that may be acquired through the study of Latin and transferred to other lines of endeavor.

The records of 10,000 candidates for college entrance made in the 10-year period, 1914-1923, inclusive, show that the Latin students do better by about 13 per cent. than the non-Latin students in all subjects outside of Latin and Greek, and in general the greater the amount of Latin studied the greater the superiority. Three tests made to determine the reason for this superiority indicated that of the 13 per cent. about 2 per cent. or 3 per cent. was due to initial ability and 11 per cent. or 10 per cent. to something in the study of Latin. The advocates of formal discipline seem to have been right about the disciplinary values of Latin.

The report seems to have disappointed many teachers in not admitting that the chief reason for studying Latin is to acquire a mastery of English. This attitude is expressed by Mr. Clyde R. Jeffords in an article reprinted in *School* (New York City) from a high-school monthly bulletin. The writer says:

Apparently the committee has endeavored in this report to combine two theories as immiscible as oil and water, with the usual result. Part of the committee is evidently wedded to the doctrine that the reading of classical Latin, with or without translation into English, is the chief purpose of the study of Latin everywhere. On the other hand, the result of the investigation showed conclusively that this objective was not being attained and probably could not be. Furthermore, those most familiar with actual teaching conditions in secondary schools voted decisively against the proposal to teach "Latin as Latin."

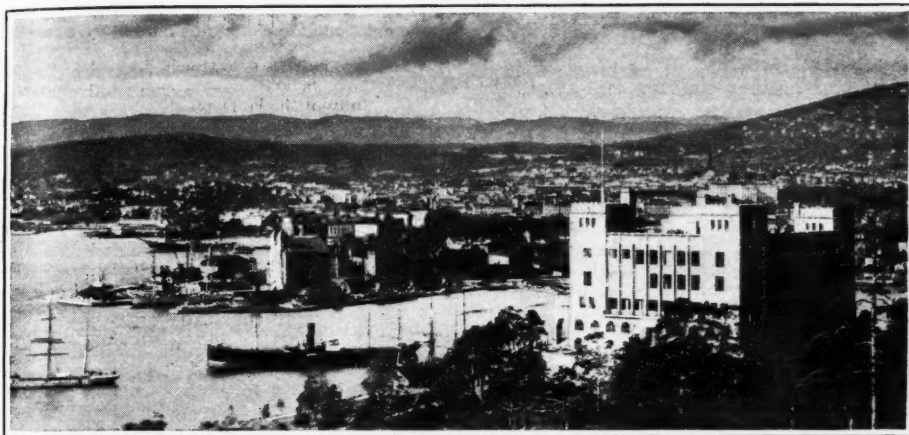
The fundamental fallacy lies in the arbitrary assumption that the important ultimate objectives of Latin study in secondary schools can be attained only by laboriously digging out the meaning of the involved periods of certain classical authors. Nothing in the investigation gives the least support to this theory.

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SCENE IN THE HARBOR OF OSLO (CHRISTIANIA), NORWAY, FROM WHICH VESSELS SAIL TO MANY DISTANT PORTS—THE NORWEGIAN NAUTICAL SCHOOL IN THE RIGHT FOREGROUND

Norway's Flag Upon the Seas

THE magnitude and importance of Norway's merchant marine and its rapid recovery from the disasters of the late war form the subject of an interesting article by F. A. M. Alfsen, published in *Commerce Reports* (Washington, D. C.). The earnings of Norwegian shipping are of special economic value to the country, because they serve as an invisible export item to offset the large importations of foodstuffs and raw materials that make Norway's trade balance consistently unfavorable. Thus, in 1923, the excess of imports over exports amounted to 519,000,000 crowns, but the net earnings of the merchant marine and whaling fleet amounted to 383,532,000 crowns, and thus went a long way toward making up for this disadvantage.

In marine tonnage Norway now ranks eighth among the maritime nations. Her merchant fleet comprises 1,753 vessels, with a gross registered tonnage of 2,505,393. The vessels are thus classified: Steam, 1,438; motor, 126; auxiliary, 100; sail, 89.

During the war Norwegian vessel owners realized great profits, which were, however, largely wiped out by an enormous loss of ships. We read:

From direct and indirect causes over 1,700,000 gross tons, or roughly, 50 per cent. of the pre-war strength of the fleet, were lost to Norway on account of the war. Heavy financial sacrifices, due to the excessive cost of new tonnage, were required to rehabilitate the fleet, and it is remarkable that the pre-war strength was regained as early as 1921. It is estimated that nearly 2,000,000,000 crowns,

or approximately one-quarter of the gross freight earnings of the Norwegian merchant marine since 1914, have been expended to achieve this result. By this renewal, the steamships less than five years old now comprise 900,000 gross tons, or nearly one-half of Norway's present steam tonnage, as compared with only 475,000 gross tons of this class at the outbreak of the war.

Before the war Norwegian steamship lines were exceptional. Most Norwegian steamers were engaged in foreign time charter or tramp service. The situation has now greatly changed.

Up to 1906, Norwegian ships in regular liner service did not exceed 86,000 gross tons; at the present time the regular routes of Norwegian companies employ about 500,000 tons of shipping, or upward of one-quarter of the entire fleet. This tonnage is in excess of the actual present needs of the country, and it can therefore be expected that a reallocation of some tonnage to tramp trade and foreign time charter will take place. For the past two years practically the entire Norwegian merchant fleet has operated, in spite of the unusually low freight rates and high operating costs. It is stated that some of the rates obtaining in the Baltic trade are even below pre-war levels. The most important of Norwegian routings now are for ports in the United States, Gulf of Mexico, Central America, Pacific coast, South America, Africa, Australia, Spain, and the Mediterranean.

Norwegian bottoms are conspicuous in many of the special trades of the world. Thus during the past shipping season Norwegian vessels participating in the West Indies sugar transportation comprised fully 60 per cent. of the total number engaged in that trade. Norwegian bottoms are likewise prominent in the Baltic timber trade, and are strongly represented in the Trans-Pacific lumber and grain trades. Chinese coastal trade is also a favorite field for Norwegian ships.

More striking, however, than all these specialties of Norway's maritime operations is her great whaling industry, surpassing that of any other country and reminding us of America's past supremacy.

It is estimated that more than 50 per cent. of the total whale oil produced annually is supplied by Norwegian whaling companies. The Norwegian catch in 1913, netting approximately 600,000 barrels, represented more than 75 per cent. of that year's world output. Although whaling suffered a considerable relapse during the World War, it has now so nearly recovered pre-war proportions that during 1923 Norwegian companies made a haul of 433,174 barrels of oil. The most important catches are made in Antarctic waters, around South Georgia, the South Shetlands, and South Orkneys, and in the

Ross Sea near New Zealand. In addition, several companies operate along the east and west coast of Africa.

During 1922 (the latest year for which detailed figures are available), there were 17 active whaling companies in Norway, operating 54 vessels. The whaling during that year was done from nine permanent shore stations and 12 floating boilleries. Several new concerns have recently been organized in Norway, and the number of ships engaged in whaling activities this year is reported to be greater than during previous seasons.

Sales of the output of Norwegian whaling companies as a rule are made through the Association of Norwegian Whalers in Sandeffjord, Norway. A very great share of the output is sold direct to the United States. Whale oil is used extensively in the manufacture of soap, and is also hardened for edible purposes.

Roget's Other Title to Fame

EVEN before the advent of cross-word puzzles, Roget's "Thesaurus" was one of the most widely known of reference books. To-day its fame has penetrated to every nook and corner of the Nation. The author has, however, always been far less well known than his books. Yet Dr. Peter Mark Roget was a prominent figure in his time, and he has several other claims upon the attention of posterity than that arising from his production of the "Thesaurus." On December 9, 1824, he read before the Royal Society of London a paper entitled "Explanation of an optical deception in the appearance of the spokes of a wheel seen through a vertical aperture." According to an article by Wilfred E. L. Day, published in the *Photographic Journal* (London), this paper laid the foundation of what was eventually to become the art of cinematography. It will be found in the *Philosophical Transactions* for 1825. The principal facts in regard to Roget's discovery are thus stated by Mr. Day:

It was in the summer of 1824 that he noted his first observations regarding the phenomena of moving objects as, upon looking out of his window at a baker's cart delivering bread at a house opposite, and passing his eye up and down the slots of a Venetian blind, he received the image of a stationary wheel which he perceived was revolving when he kept his eye stationary. According to his usual custom he pursued this phenomenon and found out the cause and effect, with the result that he gave his wonderful paper before the Royal Society.

There can be no shadow of doubt that the publishing of this remarkable paper by Dr. Peter Mark Roget started a new train of thought amongst many of the great scientists of the period, and the fact that he later received the acknowledgments of Dr. Faraday in London, Dr. Plateau of Ghent, and Dr.

Stampfner of Vienna, proved that his writings were very widely read, and but for his data, so clearly given, and his lucid explanation of the phenomenon, the invention of the phenakistoscope by Dr. Plateau of Ghent, and an exactly similar instrument, the stroboscope, by Dr. Stampfner of Vienna, would never have transpired. Through following the methods laid down by Dr. Peter Mark Roget it was a fairly simple matter for them to produce the two instruments already named, which were the first to show to an astonished world both the human and other figures in motion, which was accomplished by means of rotating flat discs with characters drawn upon them and slots cut therein through which to view the object when the disc was held and revolved in front of a mirror. So much did these two early inventors of moving-picture apparatus think of Dr. Peter Mark Roget that both of them, through Quetelet, in his writings on the Continent, acknowledge these writings in the *Philosophical Transactions* as being the source which gave them all the necessary data to achieve their object, and the writer has in his possession several books autographed by Dr. Plateau and presented to his esteemed friend, Dr. Peter Mark Roget.

Roget's "Thesaurus" is a work of such amazing ingenuity and betokens such extraordinary intellectual gifts on the part of the author, that many of its users must have sought details of Roget's life in the places where such information ought to be found, but generally is not. The *Encyclopædia Britannica* ignored this ornament of British scholarship entirely. Other reference books, as a rule, give him but scant attention. We are indebted to Mr. Day's article for the following biographical sketch:

Peter Mark Roget was born at a house in Broad Street, Soho, London, on January 18, 1779, in the immediate neighborhood where the motion-picture industry still flourishes. He was the only son of John Roget, a native of Geneva, who was the pastor of a French Protestant church in Threadneedle

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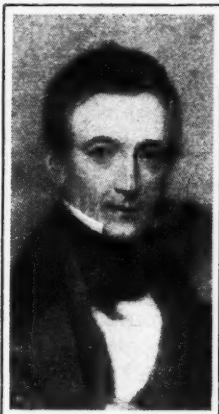
Street. His mother, Catherine, was the only surviving sister of Sir Samuel Romilly, the great painter. He was not able to enjoy the fruits of a father's guidance in life, as he was only four years of age when his father, who was paying a visit to some relatives in Geneva, was taken suddenly ill and died, leaving all his early training to his mother, under whose great care he was successfully reared to a healthy manhood. After the death of Mr. Roget the family made their home at the residence of a Mr. Chauvet, who kept a private school in Kensington Square, and it was at that school that Peter Mark Roget received his early education. It was noted by his tutor how passionately fond he was of the study of science and mathematics; the latter subject he pursued most diligently and unaided, except for the knowledge imparted by a few books. In the year 1793 Mrs. Roget thought the time had arrived to further the education of her son, and when he was 14 years of age went to live at Edinburgh, Scotland, where he entered the university of that town to receive the education for which he yearned. During the summer of 1795 he was taken for a tour of the Highlands by his uncle Romilly and M. Dumont, who was a friend of Mirabeau.

He then entered the Medical School of the University in the winter session of 1795 and studied the science of medicine. After passing through the crisis of a critical attack of typhus in 1797 he recovered and again applied himself diligently to his studies, receiving his reward by being graduated M.D. on June 25, 1798. He was subsequently attached to several important institutions as

medical appointment of physician to the Spanish Embassy, and in 1823 was appointed physician to the Millbank Penitentiary. It was at this time that he became acquainted with Dr. Wollaston, solely through the inborn love and intimate knowledge he possessed on the research of physics. It was through the express recommendation of Dr. Wollaston that he was elected a fellow of the Royal Society on

March 16, 1815. He communicated several interesting papers and became a very popular member of that learned institution, and on November 30, 1827, was elected secretary to the Royal Society as a mark of respect and acknowledgment of his scientific attainments. In this honored post he succeeded Sir John Herschel, and he exercised this office with distinction until his retirement in 1849. He died, deeply mourned, in England at West Malvern in his ninety-first year on September 12, 1869. In the year 1824 Dr. Peter Mark Roget married the only daughter of Mr. Jonathan Hobson, a Liverpool merchant, who died in the spring of 1833, leaving two children, one of them being Mr. John Lewis Roget (the author of "The Old Water Color Society," 1890).

It will be seen by the very brief extract from the memoirs of this great man how thorough he was in all the work he undertook to accomplish, following out the great principle of "that which is worth doing at all, is worth doing well." After retiring from his medical practice in 1840 he proved his great ability by compiling the work by which he is perhaps best known at the present day, viz., his "Thesaurus of English Words and Phrases."



PETER MARK ROGET

Coöperative Housing

THE rural population of Denmark has just emerged from a crisis more acute than was often encountered even in reconstruction days, and Señor Rivas-Moreno describes in the November *Nuestro Tiempo* (Madrid) how a new success of the coöperation idea dealt with the wolf at the door of the Danish farmhouse. The credit for the initiative belongs to the Masons' and Bricklayers' Union, which imitated the Rochdale weavers with their coöperative market and its low prices, exact weights and measures and wholesome, fresh products.

The first Masons' and Bricklayers' Union was founded in 1912 and nearly failed for want of funds, but wealthy men, who approved of their aims, aided them generously. The opening of the Danish Coöperative Bank in 1914 was of further aid, for the bank was not averse to labor's needs, al-

though its first object was the encouragement of farming. The Masons and Bricklayers were thus enabled to broaden the field of their activities, so that the twenty-three members in 1912 grew to six thousand in 1920. The Union built huge barracks when the housing problem was at its worst and won public approval. The firms or individuals who entrusted contracts to the Masons' and Bricklayers' Union had had no further difficulties, as the workmen, who were both crew and owners, were vitally interested in safety and speed! The workmen receive the pay fixed by the Union and when the contract is ended, the profits are distributed equally between the members and the reserve funds.

Señor Rivas-Moreno thinks that when labor coöperates and makes its own arrangements with the technical men, the useless middleman, the parasitical con-



FAMILY APARTMENTS ERECTED AT COPENHAGEN BY THE WORKERS' COÖPERATIVE BUILDING SOCIETY

(Dwellers in these apartments become members in the coöperative society by owning shares to an amount equal to one year's rent. The rest of the money is loaned by the City of Copenhagen and the Kingdom of Denmark)

tractor, will automatically disappear, as in Denmark this Masons' Union deals directly with distinguished architects.

A few months after the City Housing Congress met in London in 1920, the Danish Coöperative Masons' Union built a colony of 140 excellent dwellings for the poor.

Señor Rivas-Moreno concludes, somewhat pessimistically, that the Spanish coöperative undertakings are more concerned with the capitalist than with labor, in direct contrast to their Danish brethren. He suggests that a part of the millions of pesetas offered up by the Spanish laboring

men on the altars of the postal savings plan, beloved of the powers that be, should be applied to a coöperative bank. The public treasury would probably save a large sum if this coöperative bank would aid a masons' and bricklayers' union like the Danish one to build offices for the state administrative departments, which have long been compelled to pay high rents for quarters in the poorest conditions. Five or six million pesetas, subtracted from the budget over a short term of years, would be sufficient, Señor Rivas-Moreno believes, to show results scarcely inferior to those of the small northern kingdom.

French Laborers Earn Their Own Homes

WHILE Denmark is solving the housing problem by a wise coöperative scheme of the masons and bricklayers, Spain is still in the throes of her inchoate reforms, but France is emerging from pessimistic uncertainty as to the results of her efforts in this field. M. Maurice Deslandres gives the story of France's struggle with housing ills in the December 10th *Correspondant* (Paris).

The labor world (writes the Dean of the Dijon Law School) shows a strong desire to own homes and makes an equally vigorous display of the qualities, fitted to obtain them.

There is less resistance on the part of the capitalist classes and the Government has provided ways and means most liberally. All coöperative companies, formed to build dwellings, were urged by the law of 1894 to obtain capital from the Government at 2 per cent. and they were also allowed to solicit contributions from provinces, parishes, savings banks, benevolent organizations, asylums or hospitals.

The Government itself takes the money from the national savings banks and the national pensions funds with some logic, as these funds come in greater part from the foreseeing thrift of the working classes.

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As a result of this generous policy, in 1923 there were 580 cheap dwelling building companies, thirty-three of which were coöperative; 118 of these were in Paris, 19 at Lyons, 11 at Lille and 9 in Algiers. There were also 112 building and loan companies. Nine of the coöperative companies have capitals ranging from one to twenty million francs, but the majority have such tiny reserves, that their efforts are negligible. The building and loan trusts saved between 100,000 and 3,300,000 francs.

The Seine Government Building corporation has a capital of twenty-seven millions, a grant of more than twenty millions from the National Government, fifteen millions from the Seine province and a government loan of about fifty millions at an interest of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. On December 31, 1922, this corporation was renting 957 dwellings, sheltering 6,958 persons, and in 1923 it gave lodgings to more than 1,000 new families. The City of Paris Building Corporation managed nineteen groups of flats, harboring 12,105 families; the Bouches-du-Rhône Company built 208 dwellings in apartment houses at a cost of more than 8,000,000 francs; the Public Fund of Saint-Etienne built forty flat houses with 320 dwellings for 6,375,000 francs.

The great industrial owners have formed a trust fund of 101,687,000 francs to build cottages for their workmen.

M. Deslandres admits that there are still slums in all the French cities in the narrow, dirty streets, where the houses are filthy within and without and thrown together without the most elementary knowledge of hygiene. But there is now this compelling

idea in the laboring class to enjoy homes which protect the family's health and insure a proper self-respect in their children.

When the building of cheap homes on the installment plan was begun about thirty years ago, there seemed to be an almost insuperable prejudice among the well-to-do in Southern France against the theory that the workmen could possess any idea of thrift, order, loyalty to promise or love of a home. This platform of the upper middle classes of course made all progress impossible. Nevertheless in Dijon the movement had reached in 1914 proportions as respectable as ninety-three houses built at an outlay of much more than 3,000,000 francs, although the enterprise nearly failed at the start in 1904. In spite of the interruption of the war, 607 laboring families had become owners of their homes. Of the 400 persons who obtained loans only two failed to pay and many of the families had only 6,500 francs income, out of which they had to pay 1,400 or 1,500 francs if not more.

Thus [concludes M. Deslandres] the ability to save and the exact payment of their debts by the workmen surpasses the most favorable hopes and the well-to-do no longer oppose their manifest desire to acquire decent dwellings. The Government, always more optimistic in France than the well-to-do, is more than encouraged by the progress made. It is increasing opportunities and providing ample credit for the builders and purchasers. France has not yet gone so far as Denmark, inasmuch as the initiative there was taken by labor in the solution of the housing plan and they largely coöperated in its success. Still the outlook is most favorable and may be regarded as showing a social reform spirit in the working classes of an almost incalculable benefit to France and through her to the western world. She guides and leads forward in civilization.

Egyptian Influence on the Book of Proverbs

A RECENT number of the *Svensk Tidsskrift* (Stockholm) contains an interesting article, written by Dr. Pehr Lugn, representing an entirely new departure in the study of some long-disputed questions as to the probable sources from which the Hebrew writers of the Old Testament may have drawn their inspiration.

Doubtless many of us still remember the controversy caused a few decades ago by Dr. Fr. Delitzsch's book, "Babel and Bible," propounding the theory that the Israelitic culture was derived to an essen-

tial degree from that of the Babylonian-Assyrians.

At the present time the Delitzsch theories have been abandoned almost generally, but other attempts have been made in order to learn to what extent the Israelitic culture may have been influenced by spiritual impulses received from neighboring nations, not only from the racially related Babylonians, but also from the ancient Egyptians.

The discovery, toward the end of the past century, of the Tell el-Amarna letters supplied the first and rather startling in-

formation that Palestine, politically and culturally, had been under Egyptian influence as early as 2000 B. C., and that from 1500 B. C. it constituted practically an Egyptian province. More recent discoveries have established the fact that Syria also, at that time, was included within the Egyptian sphere of interest, and more intimately so than has been generally assumed.

On the other hand, the prophets Hosea and Isaiah bear testimony to the influence still exerted by the great Egyptian power as late as during the eighth century B. C. It is only natural, therefore, that students of the Old Testament, as well as Egyptologists, for years have taken into consideration the possibility that the abundant literature of Egypt may have affected the writers of the Old Testament books.

The contents of some Egyptian papyri from about 2000 B. C. in many respects bear a marked resemblance to several of the Old Testament texts. In particular, this is the case in regard to the so-called Egyptian Wisdom Books, the composition and form of which are similar to that of the Book of Proverbs, and the spiritual teachings of both are conspicuously alike, so much so, in fact, that it has been frequently assumed among scholars that the Hebrew writers were drawing upon Egyptian sources of knowledge.

Indications had thus been accumulating for many years, pointing in the direction of a possible Egyptian origin of some parts of the Old Testament books, but, beyond that, nothing had been learned definitely until last May, when Prof. Adolf Erman, the renowned German Egyptologist, announced that he had discovered in the Book of Proverbs certain parts (the Amen-em-ope teachings) of a recently published Egyptian Book of Wisdom.

In 1888 the papyrus had been acquired by the British Museum, but, detrimentally to science, it had been allowed to remain unnoticed in the collections up to 1923, when

it was published by Sir Wallis Budge, the late director of the Egyptian section of the British Museum.

Professor Erman, in coöperation with Dr. Lange of Copenhagen, has made a translation of the document. Both agree that this very significant papyrus can not be of a date earlier than about 1000 B. C., possibly even one or two centuries later. It is to be regretted that the document is not the original, only a rather careless copy, which renders the translation very difficult.

According to his own testimony, the author of the work was a holder of an exalted office in the state and also, like most of his co-officials, a priest. For the edification of his youngest son, Hor-em-ma-cheru, he wrote down in his old age this compendium of his life's experiences.

This document constitutes the first written intimation, that has so far come to light, of the new religious currents appearing in the Egyptian era toward the later part of the "New Kingdom." The unapproachable, awful deity of the old temple cult is receding, and we meet instead "the Glorious God who listens to our prayers and to the voice of the poor, and gives relief to the depressed." This spirit of mercy attributed to the deity represents an essential Christian quality, and the God-conception, although still confused by idolatry, is becoming simpler and more unified than it had been during the earlier period. As a whole, the Amen-em-ope teachings are in close accord with those of our Bible.

In addition, the discovery of the Amen-em-ope Maxims has proved beyond a doubt that at least seven of the verses contained in Chapters 22, 23 and 24 of the Book of Proverbs are pure translations from the Egyptian papyrus, and the contents of several other verses are too similar to that of the Maxims to be coincidental only. It may not matter very much, after all, whether some minor parts of the Egyptian work have been actually transcribed into the Bible, but, certainly, that was not the only existent document of its time. Egypt owned an abundant literature, and to the earnest Bible student it is of the utmost importance to know that the Hebrew writers had access to Egyptian sources of knowledge, and that they were susceptible to influences from the Egyptian culture—a possibility which has long been assumed, but, until the time of this recent discovery, never proved.



INSPIRATION OF
EGYPT

(This statue now stands in the Vatican at Rome. It is thought by some to represent the Egyptian Apollo)

The Marvelous Art of Deciphering Scorched Documents

THE application of chemistry to the task of deciphering documents damaged by fire or heat is a comparatively unfamiliar byway of practical science, though it dates back more than a century. The first striking achievements in this field were those of Sir Humphry Davy, who spent two months in Naples in the year 1819 in the examination of scorched papyri which had been recovered from the ruins of Herculaneum. His paper on this subject was subsequently published in the *Philosophical Transactions*. The details of Davy's method and the various processes that have been used in more recent times for a similar purpose are described in *Discovery* (London) by Mr. C. Ainsworth Mitchell, a distinguished chemical analyst and expert in legal cases.

In the case of the investigations at Naples:

The rolls of papyri, which, judging by the characters upon them, must have been ancient at the time of their burial in A. D. 79, had originally been wrapped in parchment. This had become completely carbonized, so that it formed a shiny black deposit. The leaves of vegetable papyrus within the rolls were more or less disintegrated, and varied in color from pale brown to black, according to the conditions of heat to which they had been subjected, and the degree of permeation of moisture from the moist volcanic ashes. The rolls were tightly glued together and various unsuccessful attempts had previously been made to separate them and decipher the writing upon them.

The method of unrolling found the most successful by Sir Humphry Davy was to attach the animal

membrane by means of a glue jelly to the back of the MSS. and then, when the glue was dry, to raise the layers cautiously by means of silk threads. In some cases ether was applied with a brush to separate the layers of leaves; in others chlorine or iodine vapors were introduced, followed by gradual heating, care being taken that the gas was not driven out too suddenly.

Two months' work was spent upon 23 papyri. The ink used in these documents, like that found in other ancient papyri, consisted of a lampblack pigment. Davy's process would not have been applicable if they had been written with the iron-gall inks of later times, as the treatment employed would have completely bleached the characters.

Turning, now, to modern methods, the following extract from Mr. Mitchell's article will serve to illustrate the almost miraculous feats that the experts are able to accomplish:

Where the writing on scorched paper is no longer visible it is often possible to develop it by cautiously continuing the charring process, so as to burn away the charcoal of the paper and leave a more or less coherent light-colored ash, upon which the pigment of a black lead pencil or the iron oxide of an iron-gall ink can then be made out. In the case of certain papers the ash will be sufficient in quantity for the purpose; in other cases it is necessary to treat the charred fragment with a solution of a suitable salt, such as aluminium acetate or thorium nitrate. The principle is the same as that utilized in the preparation of incandescent gas mantles, in which the vegetable fabric is soaked in a solution containing mainly thorium nitrate, and then, when burned, leaves a mineral skeleton of the fabric.

Charred paper, after this treatment, will often yield striking results when the burning process is carried a stage further, so that a completely coherent ash is left. Thus, the blacklead or graphite in a pencil pigment, being much more difficult to burn away than the carbon in charred paper, remains as a dark mineral residue on a white background.

As printing ink also usually contains iron, it can frequently be discerned on partially charred fragments, or developed by heat as described; but it is often necessary to stop the calcining process at the exact point when the writing has been rendered visible.

Besides chemical treatment and heat, a third process applicable to the decipherment of charred documents involves the use of photography. This process was devised recently by R. Davis.

It is based upon the fact that the charred paper emits vapors which will fog a photographic plate,



SIR HUMPHRY DAVY'S DRAWINGS OF FRAGMENTS OF SCORCHED PAPYRI FROM HERCULANEUM

whereas the ink in the written or printed characters affords some protection against the vapors. Hence, if the charred fragment be fixed, face downwards, upon a photographic plate, and the plate developed in the usual way after a week or two, those parts of the negative in contact with the characters will appear white on a black background.

The photographic method is, however, subject to rather narrow limitations, which Mr. Mitchell points out in the light of his own experience.

Its difficulties will perhaps be best understood by persons skilled in photography.

South Africa's Problems

THE Union of South Africa is facing a class—and race—struggle, the end of which is difficult to foresee. Mr. H. Roos, Jr., handles the problem in the December (1924) issue of the Dutch periodical, *Vragen des Tijds*, in a lengthy article.

The Boer, the descendant of the Dutch settler and of the French Huguenot, penetrated the northern parts and became a cattleman. But the discovery of a single diamond by a merchant named O'Reilly in 1867 in the neighborhood of Hopetown on the Orange River disturbed the peaceful and patriarchal life of the Boer and brought in a flood of adventurers.

In 1871 Kimberley became a tent-city of some 50,000 inhabitants, a mixture of whites and blacks. Cecil Rhodes financed the Beers syndicate, while Barnato took the Kimberley mine in hand. Since 1867 South Africa has produced a value of 200,000,000 pounds sterling in diamonds.

The Witwatersrand—so named by the Boers after the small streams tumbling over the heights on the northern end—forms a waving plateau and almost 6,000 feet above the sea-level. It was there that gold was discovered in such an abundance that the little mining town of 1886 became the City of Johannesburg with (1924) a population of 280,000, of which 150,000 are whites, exclusive of scattered little suburbs.

More than 50 per cent. of the world's gold-product is derived from there, while the general estimate of continuation is seventy-five years. Some of the mining companies are booking profits of more than 100,000 pounds sterling.

The high veldt is unsurpassed in the salubrity of its climate, while iron ore and coal add to the wealth of natural resources.

But under all those outwardly favorable conditions lurks the all-pervading danger of the ever-increasing numbers of the black race. The warrior race of the great Bantu family descended from the North, scattering before them or enslaving the weaker, native

elements—the Hottentots and the Bushmen.

The former formed the Kaffir kingdoms of Zulu, Swaziland and others, till the white *voortrekkers* (pioneers) disputed their authority over the African veldt, in the beginning with but little success. To-day there are one and a half million of whites against at least five million of blacks. A third category is formed by the mixture of white and black, a dangerous element, as neither side will associate with it.

In 1921 there were 30,000 unskilled white laborers and 200,000 blacks, all employed in the mining industry. In 1923 the Rand paid out in wages to white labor fully 6,000,000 pounds sterling and a like sum of money to ten times the number of black laborers. Thereafter the race question assumed such dimensions that the economic barrier between white and black partly was lifted.

Naturally the Kaffir, coming in close touch with the white co-worker, imitates his fellow-laborer in many ways, and, while enlarging the status of his living, he demands a higher scale of wages. As he needs less than a white man and generally possesses greater virility, he is in a better condition than the poor white. He also still clings to his clan-system, speaks his own language, and has retained all his pride in the superiority of a ruling race.

In the home life of the Kaffir the problem of capital and labor was unknown, but now they fight against whites in general as well as against capitalistic employers especially.

In the "Essential Kaffir" Dudley Kidd writes: "Whatever else the natives are, they are animals," while Stevens adds: "And, like the beast of the field, he is happy so long as he sleeps on a full stomach and with his mate beside him." Elsewhere the latter claims that there is less difference between white and black than there is between a lion and a tiger or a tiger and a wildcat.

In the mission schools of South Africa the

Bantu negro children are able to maintain the pace with the white children, but at the adult stage the former seem to lag behind. Whether this is due to the condition of life in their own villages or to arrested intelligence remains to be seen, as the Kaffirs are strongly attached to their past and averse to accepting the white man's point of view.

The Boer cattleman usually treats the blacks as an inferior race and refers to them as "black creatures," not as human beings. The Englishman, on the other hand, looks upon them as an asset in his particular business, to be profitably employed as such. Naturally the Boer, as a landed proprietor and part and parcel of the land, created permanent relations, while the "Outlander" would only consider his residence temporary, leaving the land behind him, whenever he had sufficient money to maintain himself back home. But it remains a certainty that the mining industry needs and will keep on needing the labor of the blacks. Moreover, the Kaffirs have demonstrated great aptitude for skillful labor and even shown mechanical skill in outside capacities of no mean degree. They are no lazier than their white co-workers.

In Johannesburg there are many social shipwrecks among the English, who form a serious menace to the moral and physical health of the community. There are also a number of poor Hollanders, who have failed as farmers and drifted to the mines. Officially, marriages between white and black are frowned upon. Most of the half-breeds are born in the compound from a white father and a black mother. As Olive Schreiner writes in her "Thoughts on South Africa": "He (the halfbreed) is the broken wineglass from last night's feast."

With the creation of a class consciousness between labor and capital, and the race problem between white and black, the lesser race question between the whites themselves has been relegated to the background. In Transvaal, where mixed marriages are permitted, the total increase in illegitimate births is at least three times as

fast as the legitimate and illegitimate births combined in Cape Colony, where such marriages are not allowed. Moreover, the half-caste is looked at askance, which is expressed in the usual saying: "God made the white man, perhaps He made the black; but the Devil made the half-caste," or, as the Boer will have it: "The Devil sits behind the ears of the half-breed."

In order to offset the increasing numbers and race-consciousness of the Kaffirs, colored labor from outside South Africa has been tried. But the success was so meagre that it had to be deported within a short period.

As the Boer is not going to desert his own country, and is upheld in that view by the other white elements, the general consensus of opinion is that the white man must continue to rule. How to reconcile such a view with the principle that the Government must be based upon "Right and Justice" is not commented upon. Can a Parliament, almost exclusively formed of whites, face the difficulty of continuing to rule an ever-developing majority of blacks, or is the occasion ripe for a consideration of a certain measure of self-government for the Kaffirs?

A segregation policy is far from clear. Should it be of a local, political, or industrial character? But, as stated, the latter is unthinkable, as industry demands the labor that only the numerous blacks can furnish. The greater idealism of the Nationalists, now in power, holds: "It is extremely difficult for a white man to think black."

The old, conservative Boer used to say: "If God had willed that we should form one people, he would not have created any difference in character between Hollanders and Englishmen." But a black peril would bring all the whites together. The *New Statesman* (London) of May, 1924, states: "The alliance of Nationalists, exclusively Dutch, with Labor, which is largely British, is a great departure from the traditions of racialism, and racial tendencies ought to give way before the urgency of conciliating new supporters."



THE NEW BOOKS

Biography

Impressions of Great Naturalists. By Henry Fairfield Osborn. Charles Scribner's Sons. 216 pp.

Professor Osborn, who began life as a painstaking and thorough scholar, has lifted the structure of a distinguished and versatile career upon a foundation that has stood every test. The volume in hand represents by-product rather than special and consecutive study; but it is none the less worth while. Its autobiographic note is its real charm and its chief claim to attention. Dr. Osborn graduated at Princeton in 1877, as one of President McCosh's most promising young men. After further study of a year or two in biology, he went abroad and fell into the hands of the great scientists of the Victorian period in England. Upon his return, he became a professor at Princeton, but after a few years was brought to New York as head of the Department of Zoölogy at Columbia University. In due time he found himself the guiding spirit of that marvelous instrument of education and scientific discovery known as the American Museum of Natural History.

The present volume comprises sketches of five Englishmen, namely: Alfred Russel Wallace, Charles Darwin, Thomas Henry Huxley, Francis Maitland Balfour, and James Bryce; one Frenchman, Louis Pasteur; and six Americans: Joseph Leidy, Edward Drinker Cope, Theodore Roosevelt, John Burroughs, John Muir, and Howard Crosby Butler. These twelve papers have been selected by Dr. Osborn from a great number of biographical sketches that he has published from time to time, many of them being addresses on memorial occasions. The twelve are grouped because of contributions made by each of them to some department of knowledge in the broad field of natural history. The introductory note, which unifies the volume, is a delightful bit of autobiography, giving us a stimulating glimpse of the inspiring friendships that the author has enjoyed during a long and fruitful life that was never more productive than in these last years.

Dr. Osborn's reports as president of the American Museum of Natural History are so constructive, and so readable withal, that they deserve to be listed as contributions to the educational annals and literature of successive years. His last report is entitled "The American Museum and the World," and it presents a marvelous picture of the activities of the Museum in its scientific expeditions, the results of which are constantly enriching the collections housed in the buildings at Central Park West.

An Unofficial Statesman—Robert C. Ogden. By Philip Whitwell Wilson. Doubleday, Page & Co. 275 pp.

Among her practical business men America has had many who have won merited recognition as great citizens through their services to humanity. Robert

C. Ogden was one of these honored and beloved citizens. He had entered mercantile life at an early age, and had in due time become an associate of John Wanamaker of Philadelphia. In after years, he became the head of the Wanamaker stores in New York City. In his younger days in Philadelphia, he had thrown himself into local religious and philanthropic work as occasion offered, and the fields of influence and service widened steadily. Business errands had taken him frequently to the South before the Civil War. During the war period, he was active in the work of the Christian Sanitary Commission and in that of caring for the "Freedmen," who drifted through the Union lines in great numbers. Hampton, Virginia, had become a center for the relief and education of freedmen; and this work was in charge of General S. C. Armstrong.

Robert Ogden was the devoted friend of Armstrong; and as the work at Hampton grew by degrees into the great institution for colored youth that now flourishes there, Mr. Ogden became the chairman of the board of trustees of the Hampton School. Based upon this Hampton experience, he became interested in the problems of education throughout the entire South. He was a supporter of Booker Washington's enterprise at Tuskegee. In association with Southern and Northern educational leaders, he was a founder of the Southern Education Board, of which for many years he was the chairman. Still later he became one of the organizers of the General Education Board, so richly endowed by John D. Rockefeller. These things suggest some of his leading activities and interests. Mr. Wilson, an English journalist, now resident in New York, although he did not know Robert C. Ogden, has made a careful study of available materials and has been aided by surviving friends of the merchant and philanthropist. The result is a biographical study of admirable literary qualities, and also a most gratifying appreciation of the qualities and the public service of Mr. Ogden.

Joseph Pulitzer: His Life and Letters. By Don C. Seitz. Simon and Schuster. 478 pp. Ill.

Joseph Pulitzer, owner of the New York *World* and founder of the School of Journalism at Columbia University, died in 1911. For many years he had been blind, but that affliction had only served to intensify his intellectual curiosity and to make him an even greater figure than before in the affairs of his day. Cruising in his yacht from one hemisphere to the other, with his hard-worked secretaries, editing the *World* by cable, for the last fifteen years of his life Mr. Pulitzer was the incarnation of restless energy. A loyal and efficient staff in the *World* office made this peculiar method of newspaper management brilliantly successful, and one of the outstanding members of that staff after 1895 was Mr. Don C. Seitz, to whose competent hands was com-

mitted the task of preparing this compact volume of the "Life and Letters" of his chief. It was because Mr. Seitz already knew so well the story of the *World*, which was Mr. Pulitzer's own story, that he was able to make so judicious a selection of material from a mass which to an outsider might well have seemed formidable. In the main, he has his subject speak for himself, through his letters and memoranda. The reader is let into hundreds of *World* office secrets of past days. Sometimes the great editor appears arbitrary, tyrannical; sometimes his notions of the moment seem whimsical, if not positively foolish; often he seems to be guided by impulse, yet with all these human limitations he does stand out, when judged by the directions that he gave to his associates, as a man of certain definite ideals, for which he was ready to make real sacrifice. In the very days when the *World* was tagged as "yellow," sincere, high-minded men were in its service and were striving earnestly to live up to the pledge given by its owner in 1883 to "fight for progress and reform, never tolerate injustice or corruption, always fight demagogues of all parties, never belong to any party, always oppose privileged classes and public plunderers, never lack sympathy with the poor, always remain devoted to the public welfare."

The man who announced his principles in this bold fashion more than forty years ago had landed during our Civil War as a young immigrant from Hungary. He enlisted in the First New York Cavalry, and after the war drifted to St. Louis, where he was engaged on the staff of a German-language newspaper conducted by Carl Schurz. Later he studied law, became himself a newspaper proprietor, and dabbled in politics. In 1883 came an opportunity to buy the moribund New York *World* from Jay Gould. In the following year, under his editorship, the paper contributed powerfully to the election of Grover Cleveland to the presidency. Since that time it has steadily held its place in the front rank of American independent journals. Although he had consistently supported Mr. Cleveland in the two campaigns, Mr. Pulitzer strongly opposed his policy in the Venezuela issue with Great Britain. Woodrow Wilson was advocated by Mr. Pulitzer for the Presidency as early as 1908.

William Crawford Gorgas: His Life and Work. By Marie D. Gorgas and Burton J. Hendrick. Doubleday, Page & Company. 359 pp. Ill.

It was Sir Auckland Geddes, the former British Ambassador at Washington, who said: "Gorgas is the greatest man of our time. His name will live long after even the names of wars are confused and forgotten." General Gorgas was indeed a conqueror, not over human armies in the field, but over so deadly and prevalent a disease as yellow fever. From that insidious enemy of mankind he made whole countries free. Indeed, he swept it from the surface of continents. This biography, written by Mrs. Gorgas in collaboration with Burton J. Hendrick, is indeed a romantic story of achievement. The American people, to whom in our day the Panama Canal means so much, have never known the true facts of the career of the man through whose work alone the Canal was made possible. Engineers might have come and gone, but with the menace of yellow fever persisting as it had throughout the French régime on the Isthmus, the Canal could not have been dug by any human agency. It was not General Gorgas himself who first associated the

mosquito with yellow fever. That had been done by Dr. Reed and his colleagues. But it was Gorgas who planned and made the campaign which resulted in the elimination of the disease from Cuba, Panama, Central and South America. The story of this fight is well told by Mrs. Gorgas and Mr. Hendrick.

The Life of Abraham Lincoln. By Ida M. Tarbell. Lincoln History Society. In four volumes. Profusely illustrated with many reproductions from original photographs, paintings, etc.

The original publication of Miss Tarbell's "Life of Lincoln" in the form of a magazine feature stimulated interest in the career of Lowell's "First American" in a wonderful way, for no such biography of the martyr President had ever appeared. It was a story drawn altogether from original sources and containing much material that now saw the light for the first time. The magazine publication naturally led to the discovery of manuscripts, photographs, paintings and various articles associated with Lincoln's life, and in revising her work Miss Tarbell was able to take advantage of all these precious "finds." To all students of Lincoln's life, letters and speeches we heartily commend this "Sangamon" edition of Miss Tarbell's invaluable work.

The Life and Letters of John Muir. By William Frederic Badè. Houghton Mifflin Company. Vol. I. 398 pp. Ill. Vol. II.: 453 pp. Ill.

Ever since his death ten years ago the friends of John Muir, including thousands who never saw his face but had been charmed by his writings, have been eagerly awaiting the publication of an authorized biography of the naturalist and explorer. Muir himself had written "The Story of My Boyhood and Youth," and it was found that he had left behind him certain unpublished journals and an incomplete second volume of his autobiography. There was also a great mass of correspondence, and from this the present two-volume work derives its greatest interest. From his days as a young Scotch boy, and during the rather hard conditions of Wisconsin farm life in the '50's, through his college days at the embryo University of Wisconsin, and his later travels up and down and across the United States, and his explorations in the mountains of California and Alaska, these personal letters reveal the growing enthusiasm of boy and man for the world of nature.

The Prime Ministers of Britain: 1721-1921. With a Supplementary Chapter to 1924. By the Hon. Clive Bigham. E. P. Dutton and Company. 385 pp. Ill.

About two hundred years ago the British officer known as the "King's Minister of State" became a "Prime Minister." Forty men have held the office in these two centuries, and in Mr. Bigham's book there is a brief account of the personality and career of each of these makers of English history.

Hudson Maxim: Reminiscences and Comments. As Reported by Clifton Johnson. Doubleday, Page & Company. 350 pp. Ill.

Up to the present time Mr. Hudson Maxim, the inventor of smokeless powder, maxinite and other

explosives, seems to have escaped the wiles of the biographer. In this new book, however, Mr. Clifton Johnson has succeeded in assembling substantial chapters of what might easily grow into an autobiography, for in a series of "talks" with the inventor at his home and in automobile trips Mr.

Johnson has obtained Mr. Maxim's own unvarnished account of noteworthy episodes in his life. Altogether, it is a characteristic story of American effort and achievement, permeated throughout by the subject's native humor and picturesque manner of expression.

International and Racial Relations

The Road to World Peace. By Oscar Newfang. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 372 pp.

Mr. Newfang has written a sincere—and a thoroughly logical—essay upon the whole broad subject of world organization. The author shows an unflinching faith in the possibility of a centralized government of the world for all the purposes that may be called international. In a series of brief, constructive chapters, the reader is led up to the present condition of Europe and the world, and there follows an analysis of the Covenant of the League of Nations. The League is regarded by Mr. Newfang as a half-way stage between international chaos and world government. The book avoids the merely argumentative tone, and is never controversial. But its calm logic is impressive, and it should be influential. It is especially to be commended for the simplicity of its style and for the ease with which the ordinary reader finds himself led through what are so often shunned as difficult and technical subjects.

Security Against War. By Frances Kellor and Antonia Hatvany, Collaborator. Macmillan. Vol. I: International Controversies. 435 pp. Vol. II: International Courts and Outlawry of War. 851 pages.

A good reference book on foreign policy and international relations. The first volume narrates all the important controversies that have arisen in Europe since the Great War. It gives the story of the Saar Basin, Dantzig, Upper Silesia, the Aaland Islands, Hungary, Macedonia, Western Thrace, Eastern Galicia, Armenia and Georgia. Also there is an account of the wars or invasions resorted to in Russia, Lithuania, Fiume, Albania, Corfu, Turkey and the Ruhr. In the second volume there is a study of the various plans for world peace and an account of the organization of the permanent Court of International Justice as a security against war.

What is Truth? By Gabriel Wells. William Heinemann, Ltd., London. and Gabriel Wells, 145 W. 57th St., New York.

Mr. Wells is well known in certain privileged circles as a "bibliophile"—a collector of artistic and literary material. But Mr. Wells is also a man of philosophic mind, who expresses himself with wit, logic, and always with fine humanity. During and after the Great War, he sent occasional letters to the newspapers of America and England, all of which were of unusual quality. He has been induced to bring these together in a little volume, to which his friend, the eminent British journalist, J. L. Garvin, has written an appreciative introduction. When Theodore Burton, at Cleveland, called President Coolidge a "practical idealist," Arthur

Brisbane at once offered a prize for a definition in ten words. Mr. Wells responded with the following: "one who, in his aspirations, reckons with Time and Space." Mr. Wells concludes the volume with his own peace plan, practically as submitted by him for the Bok prize. The first need of Europe, he declares, is the creation of larger political and economic units. After regional association, he would establish a continental organization of all the nations of Europe for their reciprocal safety and mutual welfare. Only then would he have an intercontinental association, in which America should have a part. Mr. Newfang's book, which we have commented upon, is constructive and logical. Mr. Wells' book is sharply critical and thought-provoking. Both are well worthy to be read and both must lead the inquiring mind along the paths that make for world harmony.

Modern Turkey: a Politico-Economic Interpretation, 1908-1923, inclusive. With Selected Chapters by Representative Authorities. By Eliot Grinnell Mears. Macmillan. 779 pp. Ill.

In a foreword Rear-Admiral Bristol, of our Navy, shows how great is the need of up-to-date information regarding Turkey and especially of the Turkish Empire as it existed in 1914. Professor Mears, who is now lecturer in economics at Leland Stanford University and was formerly American Trade Commissioner at Athens and Constantinople and a member of the American Military Mission to Armenia and Transcaucasia, offers in this book an interpretation of recent Turkish history, especially the period of the Great War and the resultant changes in the Ottoman Empire. He dates the beginnings of "Modern Turkey" in the year 1908, when the power of the Ottoman Sultans was broken. The purpose that he has consistently followed in his book is to stress the politico-economic factors of Turkish history during the fifteen years, beginning with 1908. In developing the plan of his book Professor Mears has assigned the treatment of various topics of Far Eastern importance to representative authorities on those particular subjects. The unusual knowledge of Turkey in transition, acquired by Professor Mears during his residence in that country, has enabled him to plan and assemble the most pertinent facts in an orderly and helpful scheme of presentation.

Races, Nations and Classes: the Psychology of Domination and Freedom. By Herbert Adolphus Miller. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. 196 pp.

Of all nationalities in the world to-day, Americans are in the most urgent need of attending to the problems presented and discussed in this little book. Professor Miller describes and analyzes some actual

group conflicts which, as he says, constitute real potential revolutionary conditions. He does this for the purpose of enabling the adoption of policies to prevent clashes among these groups, for his thesis is that both within the nation and in world relationships order cannot be secured by the exercise of force in repressing the will and destroying liberty, but only by developing ideas, sentiments, attitudes that are capable of mutual correlation. A great part of Professor Miller's book is the result of personal contact rather than the exploitation of what other men have written. Professor Miller insists that there is no way of understanding the people who make up conflict groups except by sincere, human association.

And Who Is My Neighbor?—an Outline for the Study of Race Relations in America. Distributed by Association Press. 231 pp.

Without attempting an answer to the question put in the title, this book suggests an outline for the study of race relations in America. It puts together stories of happenings as told by observant men and women in different parts of the country (for the most part, teachers, ministers and social workers) which seem to contain problems for moral conduct, and with these stories there are given a few suggestions, largely in the form of questions, of ways to get at the real problems they contain. The book's purpose is to promote a spirit of dispassionate inquiry.

Reference Books and Standard Editions

The New International Encyclopædia—Supplement. Dodd, Mead and Company. Vol. I: 750 pp. Ill. Vol. II: 752 pp. Ill.

"The New International Encyclopædia" was completely revised in 1914-15, and the two-volume supplement just issued covers the ten years following. These supplementary volumes, like the main body of the work, are to be commended for simplicity and convenience of text arrangement. Under the strictly alphabetical system the treatment of particular topics may be easily followed. Although a large part of the new material in these volumes is necessarily concerned with the war and its consequences, both direct and indirect, the editors have sought to maintain a reasonable balance between war topics and other public interests.

The Trade of the United States with China. By Shü-Lun Pan. China Trade Bureau. 365 pp.

This valuable account of the expansion, decline and revival of the trade of the United States with China during the past century and a half is the first attempt to deal with the subject in a thoroughgoing and scholarly fashion. Professor Seligman, of Columbia, writes a foreword and Professor Jenks, of New York University, an introduction to the book.

The Yale Course of Home Study: Based on the "Chronicles of America." By Ralph H. Gabriel and Arthur B. Darling. New Haven: Yale University Press. 301 pp.

This book suggests a way by which the valuable series of "Chronicles of America," recently published by the Yale Press, may be utilized most helpfully in the study of American history. It is a skillful and helpful compilation.

Roget's Treasury of Words. Abridged from Roget's International Thesaurus of English Words and Phrases. By C. O. Sylvester Mawson, Assisted by Katharine Aldrich Whiting. Thomas Y. Crowell Company. 444 pp.

We did not have to wait for the arrival of the cross-word puzzle to convince us of the value of Roget's great "International Thesaurus of English

Words and Phrases," which began its record of usefulness seventy-five years ago. But we have no doubt that thousands of puzzle "fans" will shortly, if they have not already, make the acquaintance of this book which has long since proved its worth. This convenient abridgment of the original work is adapted to meet everybody's needs.

Two Treatises of Civil Government. By John Locke. With an Introduction by Professor William S. Carpenter. 242 pp. **The Journal of George Fox.** Revised by Norman Penney. With an Introduction by Rufus M. Jones. 359 pp. **The Western Avernus.** By Morley Roberts. 238 pp. **Short Stories by Russian Authors.** Translated by R. S. Townsend. 275 pp. **Charles James Fox: Speeches During the French Revolutionary War Period.** Edited, With an Introduction by Irene Cooper Willis. (Everyman's Library.) 415 pp. E. P. Dutton & Company.

Recent issues in the popular "Everyman's Library" (each volume in which sells at retail for eighty cents) are confirming the good name that the series has always enjoyed as a well-edited edition of standard books. Several of the new volumes—for instance, "The Journal of George Fox," "The Western Avernus" and "The Speeches of Charles James Fox"—appeal especially to American readers. In the field of political philosophy we have the "Two Treatises of Civil Government," by John Locke, with an excellent introduction by Professor Carpenter of Princeton. In fiction one should not overlook the "Short Stories by Russian Authors," translated with an introduction by R. S. Townsend.

Child Health Library. Edited by John C. Gehhart. In ten volumes. Robert K. Haas, Inc.

This is a series of ten pocket-size books, each one of which is written by a practicing specialist, in simple language for parents. The aim of the series is to show parents how to prevent children's troubles, how to recognize them and what to do about them, before the family physician is called in. Dr. Haven Emerson, formerly Commissioner of Health of New York City, characterizes this series as the children's Magna Charta.

Henley's Workable Radio Receivers. By John E. Anderson and Elmer H. Lewis. New York: Norman W. Henley Publishing Co. 196 pp. With diagrams.

There is little of theory in this book; but the reader will find a vast store of useful information if he wishes to construct his own radio receiving set. And it makes no difference whether he wants a simple crystal set or a more efficient outfit, the necessary information is here in the same volume. There are wiring diagrams and other illustrations in profusion.

The Amateur Electrician's Handbook. By A. Frederick Collins. Thomas Y. Crowell Company. 373 pp. Ill.

There are chapters in this book on house-wiring and motor-car ignition; but in the main it is meant

for the boy or man who is fond of fooling with wires and batteries or who would acquire knowledge of the whys and wherefores of electrical energy. To make his subject more interesting the author introduces many chapters devoted to experiments and tricks.

The Standard Electrical Dictionary: A Complete Manual of the Science in Three Parts. By T. O'Connor Sloane. With addition by Professor A. E. Watson, of Brown University. The Norman W. Henley Publishing Company. 790 pp. Ill.

This is by no means a new reference book, but there are extensive additions to the original volume. A "Part Two" was added four years ago to catch up with the developments in the great field of electricity; and now Part Three appears, especially devoted to radio terms. There are thus three separate alphabets in the one volume.

Other Worth-While Books

Tantalus: Or the Future of Man. By F. C. S. Schiller. E. P. Dutton & Company. 66 pp.

Narcissus: An Anatomy of Clothes. By Gerald Heard. E. P. Dutton & Company. 150 pp.

Government and Politics of Belgium. By Thomas Harrison Reed. (Government Handbooks—Edited by David P. Barrows and Thomas H. Reed.) Yonkers-on-Hudson: World Book Company. 197 pp.

Child Labor and the Social Conscience. By Davis Wasgatt Clark. The Abingdon Press. 124 pp.

Climbing Manward. By Frank H. Cheley. Macmillan. 203 pp.

Modern Discipleship and What It Means. By Edward S. Woods. Macmillan. 189 pp.

Fundamental Ends of Life. By Rufus M. Jones. Macmillan. 144 pp.

Christianity and the Social Crisis. By Walter Rauschenbusch. Macmillan. 429 pp.

Anton Chehov: a Critical Study by William Gerhardt. Duffield & Company. 207 pp.

Leonid Andreyev: a Critical Study. By Alexander Kaun. B. W. Huebsch, Inc. 361 pp.

A History of English Literature. Edited by John Buchan. With an Introduction by Sir Henry Newbolt. Thomas Nelson & Sons, Ltd. 675 pp.

The Shakespearean Enigma and an Elizabethan Mania. By John F. Forbis. American Library Service. 342 pp.

Howells, James, Bryant and Other Essays. By William Lyon Phelps. Macmillan. 206 pp.

Some Contemporary Americans: The Personal Equation in Literature. By Percy H. Boynton. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. 289 pp.

Criticism in America: Its Function and Status. (Essays by Irving Babbitt, Van Wyck Brooks, W. C. Brownell, Ernest Boyd, T. S. Eliot, H. L. Mencken, Stuart P. Sherman, J. E. Spingarn, and George E. Woodberry.) Harcourt, Brace & Company. 330 pp.

Indian Legends. (Being a choice collection of the best legends, stories and traditions as told by the warrior and the squaw to the papoose and showing how the young Indian of the olden time was educated.) By J. J. Woodman. Boston: The Stratford Company. 268 pp. Ill.

Fungi and Human Affairs: With Special Reference to Plant Diseases. By W. A. McCubbin. Yonkers-on-Hudson: World Book Company. 111 pp. Ill.

Mobilizing the Mid-Brain: The Technique for Utilizing Its Latent Power. By Frederick Pierce. E. P. Dutton & Company. 259 pp.

The Carbon Compounds: A Textbook of Organic Chemistry. By C. W. Porter. Ginn & Company. 494 pp.

The Conquest of Worry. By Orison Swett Marden. Thomas Y. Crowell Company. 328 pp.

The Chemical Elements. By F. H. Loring. E. P. Dutton & Company. 171 pp.

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